

History

MAY 1938

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

CURRENT HISTORY

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GENERAL  ELECTRIC

1938—OUR SIXTIETH YEAR OF ELECTRICAL PROGRESS—1938

★ Much expert opinion has been offered on Austrian affairs. During the last days of Austrian independence, opinion was sharply divided. Lord Astor asked rhetorically: "Is it a worthwhile issue that the Germanic people of Austria should join the Germanic people of Germany?" Robert Strausz-Hupé, an Austrian by birth, writer, lecturer, and cosmopolite poses the question in the less abstract terms of economic survival. Emphatically he protests that post-war Austria could not live alone.

★ No one knows the total of persons executed, or imprisoned, in Russia since the first of the now famous Moscow Trials. Perhaps no one will ever know. However, it is interesting to note the number of old Bolsheviks who have been liquidated by Stalin. Alexander Bakshy, a well-known Russian translator and frequent magazine contributor, makes the count. Most of the old Bolsheviks are gone. Stalin is now virtually alone, with the memory of his old comrades.

★ Genaro Arbaiza is a Peruvian. Born in the Andes, he reached maturity as a member of a small white colony living with and upon the Indians. Feeling himself a trespasser, amid the remnants of the once great Inca civilization, he went to Argentina. There he established a reputation as a journalist and short story writer in the Spanish tongue. Today, he writes in English of Peru, and of a son of the Conquistadores. It is a new chapter to the history of passion and plunder, although neither element is new to Peru. Mr. Arbaiza is also the author of the Latin-American Notes appearing regularly in *Current History*.

★ If being the son of an Admiral qualifies a man as a naval expert, then John C. Winslow is doubly one, since he is also the brother of a naval officer. But more than that, Mr. Winslow is a serious student of naval affairs. With as much enthusiasm as any big-Navy exponent, he has watched the growth of the sea arm under the paternal eye of the sailor in the White House.

★ There are twelve Morgans on the TVA payroll. That is a fact without significance, since there are twenty-three Moores also on the payroll. But the Morgans have been in the news. One Morgan has been deposed as director of the project, and another Morgan has taken his place. The job pays \$10,000 per year. And that's tops among the eleven remaining Morgans on the project. Burt M. McConnell's compilation of editorial opinion throughout the country confines itself to the larger aspects of the TVA problem, and lets the Morgans fall where they may.

★ George Fielding Eliot is a military expert, and not a political seer. He writes of Lithuania, and of the Baltic States, and

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CURRENT HISTORY

MAY 1938

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The World Today in Books

ONE does not have to stoop very low these days to put an ear to the ground. Indeed, the rumblings of what is going on in the world are strong enough to be felt, let alone heard. Even those of us who regarded our surrounding oceans as infallible shock-absorbers against foreign groundswells are ready to admit that at least they have sensed a tremor. Certainly, there is little in the picture of a war-bound world around us, churning and quaking under the expansionist frenzy of dictators, that is conducive to uninterrupted calm.

Nor can we safely take the view that such vibrations as we may hear or feel are all from without. Recent developments in this country have not been without their own repercussions. When we fell off our economic stride late last year—just when it appeared the stride could not be broken—forces not easily halted were thrown into action. The many millions out of work, new and old, could scarcely have been expected to remain politically idle, yet the prospects today of returning a fair number of them to their jobs are not much brighter than they were at the very pit of the dark days of 1932-33.

There are more than a few who will point to the uneasiness at home and the turmoil abroad as offering final proof of the "inevitability" in the very near future of a choice Americans will have to make between two types of totalitarian states. They believe that there is no longer any question of the coming world clash between fascism and communism; that the United States cannot possibly hope to play the bystander's role but will be inexorably drawn into one camp or the other. Democracy's ability to take care of the needs of all its people, they contend, has been brought into serious doubt, while the dictator state has a vastly lower unemployed population ratio, notwithstanding its other defects.

Whatever the answer, little can be gained by flocking to one credo or the other, merely because it is felt that a

choice will have to be made eventually anyway. Moreover, and this is brought out very effectively in *Political Institutions*, by Edward McChesney Sait, there is little historical basis for the belief that a choice is "inevitable." It would appear from Dr. Sait's sound, constructive study that the thing to do now is to repair the foundations of our democracy wherever they may have shown weakness, rather than to prepare the way for the successor state to democracy. The type of fatalistic thinking that anticipates this crushing out of democracy has been answered and disproved nowhere as thoroughly as in *Political Institutions*. For once having analyzed the forces which bring totalitarian states into existence, Dr. Sait subjects the makeup and operation of those forms of government to an examination which leads him to observe that even the "paper theories" of their underlying philosophies are unworkable.

Dr. Sait has little in common with the theorist. Political institutions do not follow the paths outlined for it by the doctrinaire, he contends, but are the results of an almost endless series of changes and new experiences. They take shape like the "coral islands, planlessly, by a series of minor adjustments that result from the more or less mechanical reaction of man to his environment." This does not mean that each state must necessarily start from scratch. "Having been built, by trial

and error, in one community, and there having established their value, they may serve, in another community, as ready-made patterns for imitation." A political institution which has already succeeded in one state and which is the model used by another state is more likely to be adapted to the particular needs of the second state, undergoing transformation under the stimulus of the new environment, rather than be put into operation without modification.

The import of Dr. Sait's conclusion should not be lost upon the advocates of the "planned" totalitarian state. Torchbearers of fascism and communism, both of which pursue political philosophies rooted more in concept than in experience, will find a storehouse of evidence in *Political Institutions* to demolish completely their arguments in favor of a form of society arising from theoretical rules. Like international law, the effective state "has not been created by the textbook writers, the intellectuals, but by the behavior of states in their mutual dealings, by conflict and compromise. The doctrinaire—the artificer of long-term plans—has never succeeded in building anything except chimeras." One may well ponder, then, this question: when the blueprints of a totalitarian state are of no use, can demolition be far behind?

Dr. Sait does not profess to believe that his study of political institutions

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
<i>Political Institutions</i>	Edward McChesney Sait	Appleton Century	\$4.50
<i>The Politicos</i>	Matthew Josephson	Harcourt, Brace	4.50
<i>Education of A Diplomat</i>	Hugh Wilson	Longmans	2.50
<i>A Mirror to Geneva</i>	George Slocombe	Holt	3.00
<i>The German Octopus</i>	Henry C. Wolfe	Doubleday, Doran	2.50
<i>Watch Czechoslovakia</i>	Richard Freund	Oxford	1.50
<i>The Fight to Live</i>	Paul de Kruif	Harcourt, Brace	3.00
<i>Conquest of the Past</i>	Prince Hubertus zu Loenstein	Houghton, Mifflin	3.50
<i>Journeys Between Wars</i>	John Dos Passos	Harcourt, Brace	3.00

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of all types with whom he must come in contact in his posts abroad, he must be able to adapt himself to new customs and civilizations, he must have a taste for study. Patience, cooperation, loyalty, good manners, and personableness are traits he must have or develop. In addition, the foreign service officer must have a "negative or self-denying quality." He must remain aloof from political squabbles at home, stay away from elections if possible, and cultivate a detached view on internal domestic politics.

As a work of autobiography, *The Education of a Diplomat* has considerable merit; as literature, it is completely engrossing; as an aid to understanding the inner workings of diplomacy, it is virtually indispensable. In short, it is profitable reading.

Germany Reaches Out

Although written by a specialist on international politics, *The German Octopus* is a non-technical discussion for the layman who knows something about the European situation and wants to learn more about the backstage activities of the Pan-German drama. The book is definitely anti-Nazi, but Henry C. Wolfe, its author, is no German-baiter. If the Allies had been willing, he says, to extend even a minimum of cooperation to the democrats and pacifists of the Second Reich, the Austrian who became Fuehrer would have remained an unknown house-painter. The author calls Hitler the "illegitimate offspring of the Versailles Treaty."

Mr. Wolfe is primarily interested in the German drive to build a gigantic empire in Central and Eastern Europe. Starting from the Third Reich, he takes the reader on a political tour of the countries that stand in danger of German aggression. Denmark, Danzig, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Turkey, Greece, Albania, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Czechoslovakia—all are included. His chapter about Austria gives the background of the Nazi campaign for Anschluss. It ends with the Schuschnigg capitulation to Hitler at Berchtesgaden, an event that the author correctly characterized as "the beginning of the end of Austrian independence." Rumania is discussed at great length. Mr. Wolfe believes it is one of the important battlegrounds of the struggle between Hitler and his opponents. Rumanian oil and food attract the Nazi empire builders. And Rumanian organizations like the Iron Guard are the advance forces of the Nazi legions

which are striving to gain control of this strategically located kingdom and its natural resources.

Interpreted in Mr. Wolfe's book are the interplay of international politics and the military and economic factors which are furthering Hitler's bid for world power. Not the least of these influences is the fear, among the smaller powers of being caught on the losing side in the next war. It has made these buffer states reluctant to adopt any policy that might pit them against the rising military power of the Third Reich.

Mr. Wolfe does not believe that the Berlin-Rome axis is anything but a temporary arrangement. For the present it serves Hitler's purpose. The Germans have not been impressed by the Italian military record in the World war or in Spain. "But although the Germans' estimate of Mussolini's soldiers is low their estimate of Mussolini's political ability is high."

Here is a volume that may well serve as a chart to Hitler's elaborate, successful and far-flung propaganda, political and economic offensive, and a map of the projected Nazi empire.

The Plucky Czechs

The German octopus is already poised for another snatch. Where

now? Richard Freund seems to suggest the answer in the title of his book, *Watch Czechoslovakia!* The Czech Republic, he points out in his timely little contribution, is now the last European country east of France to maintain free democratic institutions. Bordered except for a comparatively few miles by fascist or near-fascist foes, Czechoslovakia quivers in anticipation of the moment that Adolf Hitler will surround the country with men and munitions and deliver the ultimatum to submit or be forcibly conquered. Yet Czechoslovakia has no intention of going the way of Austria—giving in without a fight. The leaders of the Mid-Europe democracy have foreseen the menace of Hitlerism and have taken military measures to defend the country, even though outside help may be lacking. Qualified military opinion, not only in Czechoslovakia, but in the Western powers, holds that the country can resist a German assault without serious loss for at least three or four weeks, and that it can keep on fighting for at least another three months. Beyond this time, however, there can be little question of a German victory.

In the event that France or Russia,

(Continued on page 68)

WHAT HAPPENED IN 1937?

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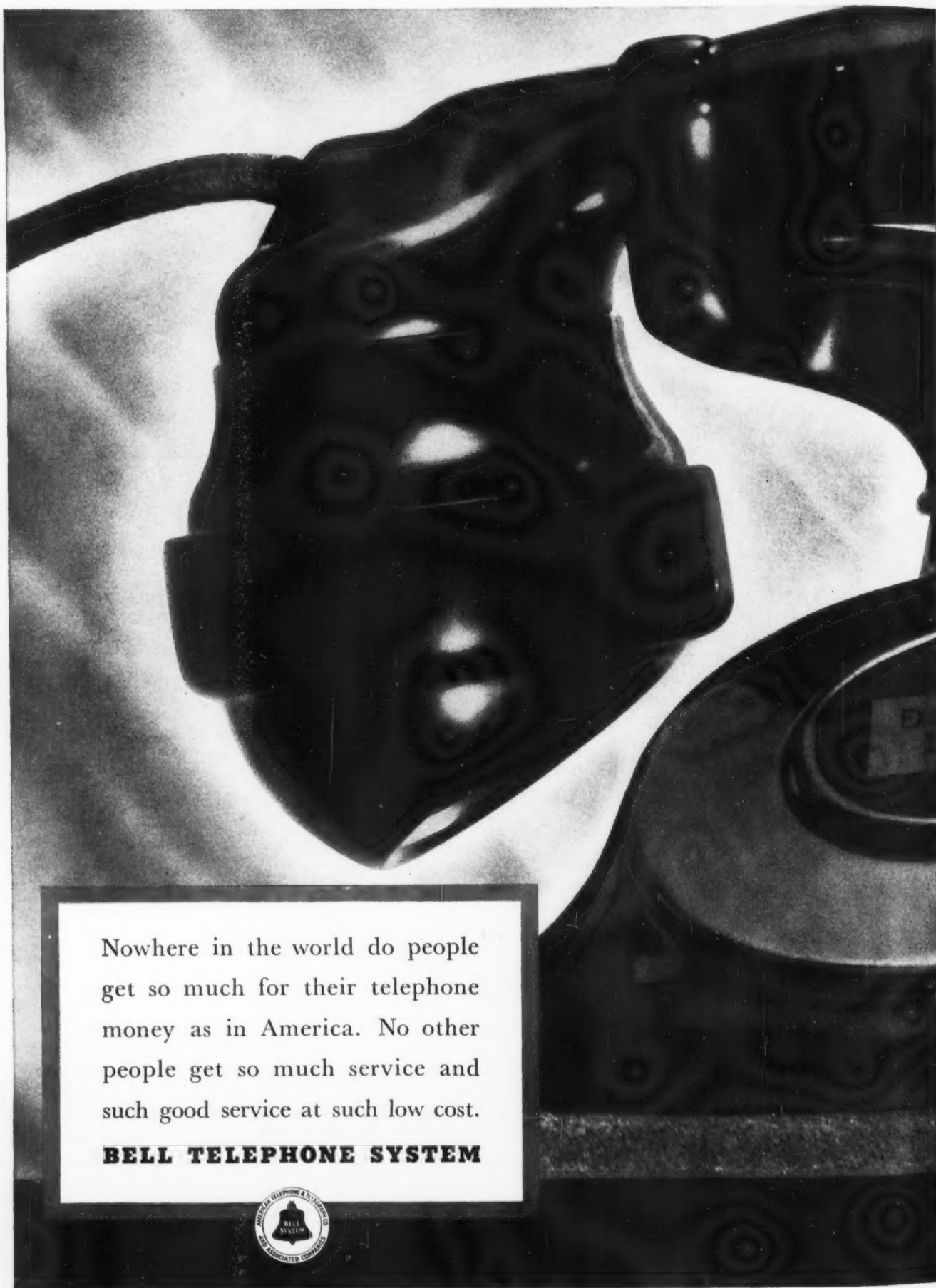
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Dictatorship

IT IS good to know that President Roosevelt does not intend to become a dictator. It would have been insulting to think otherwise, of course, since he could not become a dictator without violating the oath of office which he has twice taken. At the same time, some timid souls will be reassured, and that may be enough to make his statement worthwhile. They will be doubly reassured by the three reasons he offers to back up his statement which, briefly summarized, are as follows:

- 1) He does not want to be a dictator,
- 2) He lacks the qualifications,
- 3) His training and traditions are opposed to dictatorship.

If we are to assume that the oath of office means nothing and put the proposition on a purely argumentative basis, it is the second reason that really counts. If a man can't do a thing, he can't, and that's that!—which makes it quite unnecessary to worry whether he would like to or not.

President Roosevelt's frank acknowledgment that he lacks the qualifications to become a dictator not only provides a complete answer to the question, but makes the opinion of those who are familiar with his career absolutely unanimous. He is utterly lacking in dictatorial attributes. For one thing, he is a mental rover; for another, he likes to be on intimate terms, not only with those close about him but with the public in general. He likes to chat by the fireside; to surprise the press boys by talking with them conversationally and by giving them a startling bit of information every so often; to get his name in the paper, even to the point of syndicating his writings. These things do not go with dictatorship. To be boss of a country, a man must stand aloof; must be cold-blooded and abstain from intimate associations.

You can imagine Mr. Roosevelt spanking an opponent politically, but you can't imagine him using a firing-squad or ordering a blood-purge. You can imagine him outsmarting the opposition by some clever political trick, but you can't imagine him ordering the G-men to arrest some opposition leader. You can imagine him getting the newspaper boys out of bed to issue a statement after midnight, but you can't imagine him sending Secret Service agents to break into some house at that hour and drag an official to jail without apology or explanation.

There is no more chance of President Roosevelt becoming a dictator than there is of Hitler, Mussolini, or Stalin adopting democratic principles. At the same time, it is a good thing to bring up the subject of dictatorship

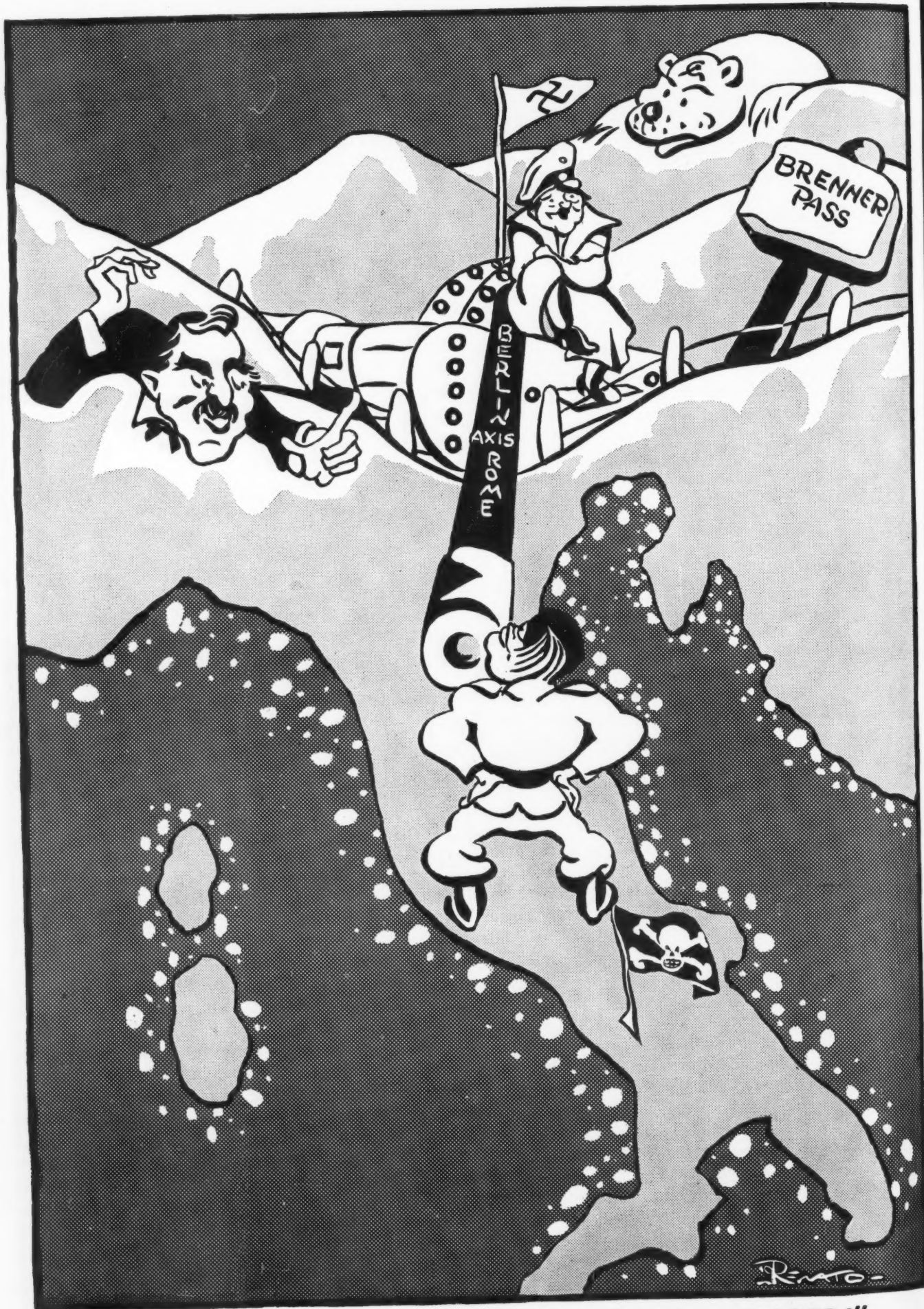
at this particular moment. Too many people are whispering about it behind the door—some because they are scared, some in a stupidly wishful way. There are folks in this country who would actually like to experiment with a dictator provided they could be sure of getting the kind they want. There are business men who toy with the thought that it might be a good thing to have a boss to make labor behave. There are labor leaders who speculate over the desirability of a boss to put business in its place. There are radicals who think this country would be better off under a Marxian boss. There are farmers who doubt whether we can get out of the present trouble without some kind of boss.

One can sense the rise and development of a new attitude toward one-man rule in the demand for trade czars, relief czars, bureau czars, etc. There is a growing disposition to put emphasis on the "efficiency" which such a set-up provides. There is also a growing disposition to doubt the advantage of liberty because of the disorder, chaos and unrest which its exercise involves.

Too many people have been fascinated by the quick, effective way in which the Mussolinis, the Hitlers, and the Stalins get things done. Too many have been discouraged by the clumsy and often ineffectual methods of democracy. "Liberty to starve," they sneer when someone suggests that this country is becoming too bureaucratic—as though bureaucracy and centralized control guaranteed full stomachs! Millions of people in Europe were sold on that selfsame sophistry, but a good many of them have had to tighten their belts in order to provide funds for armament. So, too, a good many of them have had to find slim meals in concentration camps or through forced labor.

The economic doldrums through which we have been floundering during the last eight years, and particularly the experimenting by which we have tried to discover an easy way out, are responsible for most of the queer thinking with regard to such things as liberty, dictatorship, security, self-sufficiency, etc. Some people have lost their perspective to such an extent as to be willing to try anything in the wholly absurd notion that conditions could not be worse, and in the equally absurd notion that depression has proved constitutional liberty quite valueless. The real point is that we could not have survived this depression as well as we have but for the tremendous reserves which constitutional liberty has enabled us to accumulate.

natural resources
Mc Tracy



"BY GAWD, OLD CHAPI LOOK OUT, IT'S LOADED!"

We Want Objective Interpretations of CURRENT HISTORY

MAY, 1938

how may an interpretation be objective. The only way is to be objective.

HISTORY IN THE MAKING

ONE by one the war aims pass away; one by one, the post-war treaties become scraps of paper; one by one, the promises, plans, and programs designed to produce a better world but formulated in the heat of passion, thin out and vanish like smoke-clouds above a battlefield. Neither are the dictators nor the people who follow them with blind enthusiasm entirely to blame. To a large extent, the disappointing situation which now grips Europe can be attributed to allied folly; to the mistakes which originated in war fever and to that lightheadedness which generally goes with complete triumph. In this connection, Americans should remember that the Versailles Treaty was too much for they themselves to stomach; also, the League of Nations for which it provided, and which was generally intended to enforce it. It hardly lies in their mouths, therefore, to complain if the one is torn up while the other degenerates into a mere symbol of what might have been.

With the collapse of the so-called democratic front, brought about largely by England's refusal to make further commitments relative to the security of small European countries—particularly Czechoslovakia—the dictators would appear to have been relieved of all restraint. From a distance of 3,000 miles, it looks as though Herr Hitler were at liberty to plow eastward through Middle Europe; that the disintegration, if not the destruction, of Czechoslovakia were imminent, and that the three little Baltic States—Lithuania, Latvia, and Esthonia—might disappear at any moment. It also looks as though Mussolini were in a position to get whatever General Franco is willing to give him in Spain, after which he can depend on the British Government to offer the "right hand of fellowship." It looks as though France would be left to muddle along as best she can with three Fascist frontiers.

Wishful thinkers on the democratic sidelines continue to hope that Russia will undertake the dirty work of balking Fascism which democratic govern-

ments have sidestepped as too costly. It seems more probable, however, that Russia will borrow a page from their book of tricks and be guided by self-interest.

Austria Is Absorbed

The Versailles Treaty made Austria a helpless orphan of the storm. Her demise was inevitable. The wonder is not that she has gone the way of all little States lacking self-sufficiency, but that the tragic event was postponed so long.

As a penalty of defeat, Austria was whittled down to a great city surrounded by a wealth of beautiful but unproductive scenery. It satisfied M. Clemenceau to thus "humble the pride of Vienna," but it did not satisfy the inexorable forces of realism. Vienna's very weakness, imposed upon her by victors refusing to take the long-range view, is mainly responsible for her elevation into one of Germany's crown jewels. In the end, Vienna is likely to become a more formidable rival to Paris than ever before.

While the absorption of Austria may not be of great economic advantage to Germany for the time being, it certainly adds to her man power and prestige. Germany is now a nation of more than 73,000,000 people, occupying a territory greater than that she possessed in 1914. Herr Hitler says that she is stronger than at any time during her whole career and that nothing can stop her further expansion. Not pausing to argue this point, she undoubtedly holds a predominant position in Central Europe, with France and Italy cast in the role of second fiddles. It is no longer necessary for her to consider open aggressiveness as the sole means by which to "protect" or incorporate German minorities just outside her borders. All she has to do is to guide those minorities in demanding autonomy or independence and let the processes of disintegration "go natural." Czechoslovakia represents a shining target for this technique.

Minority Boomerang

The Versailles Treaty created half a dozen little States by cutting up or whittling down old empires. "Rights of minorities" and "self-determination" formed the principal excuse. These little States, however, contain minorities within themselves which are now being converted into an excuse for more readjustment.

Czechoslovakia, erected as a haven for discontented minorities in 1918, finds herself plagued by the very proposition which gave her birth. Discontented minorities within her own borders are now looking for another haven, though not without inspiration from powerful supporters on the outside. Germans, who constitute 20 percent of Czechoslovakia's population, lead the move, with Herr Hitler's approval already assured. Quick to sense the opportunity thus opened up, Poland seems willing to assist the Polish minority and Hungary the Magyar minority.

Premier Hodza's efforts to outline a policy of concession and conciliation which would satisfy the minorities within Czechoslovakia and their backers abroad have fallen on deaf ears. Tearing up the rich little republic of Czechoslovakia is too great a temptation to be resisted. Germany, Poland, and Hungary seem more than willing to cooperate in achieving this one objective, at least.

Poland and Germany

Germany's obvious intention to re-establish complete control over Danzig and the Polish Corridor to the sea, coupled with Poland's recent demands on Lithuania, suggests a new and closer relationship between Warsaw and Berlin. If Poland could gradually establish a new Corridor to the sea through Lithuania, Germany would be in a position to absorb Danzig and close the old one. Such an exchange of favors, however, would probably rupture the Franco-Polish alliance, which is some-



NEXT?

Birmingham Gazette

thing else that would hardly be displeasing to Germany and which if present signs are to be believed, would not surprise or irritate England.

England's Shift

Declarations by Mr. Chamberlain to the contrary notwithstanding, British policy has undergone a drastic change during the past few weeks. Opposition to German expansion has ceased; the idea of depending on "collective security" has been shelved, if not abandoned. For the time being, at least, England will make no commitment relative to the protection of little States in Central Europe. Downing Street is so anxious to reconcile all differences with Italy as to tacitly accept Mussolini's stalling until he is assured of a Nationalist victory in Spain. All this involves more or less lack of cooperation with France, especially in the latter's desire to save Czechoslovakia, maintain the Polish alliance, and balk German expansion in other ways, which might well result in forcing a rupture of Franco-Russian agreements. Indeed, nothing stands out so distinctly in the general reorientation of policies as a concerted effort on the part of Western European nations to give Russia the cold shoulder.

Russia's Dilemma

But for Japan, Russia would undoubtedly be quicker to recognize and resent the unfriendly attitude of western European nations. She cannot, however, risk major conflicts at both ends; the ends are too far apart. She

has good reason to believe, if she were to become embroiled with Germany or Poland—or both—over Czechoslovakia, the Baltic States, or anything else, that Japan would take swift advantage. Also she has good reason to believe that conflict with Japan would lead to a more aggressive attitude on the part of European nations. Added to this, she has internal troubles, the seriousness of which is vividly revealed by the continuous execution of prominent leaders and officials. Like most other nations, Russia is evidently guided by the realism of self-interest rather than by the idealism of wishful thinking.

The Far East

Meanwhile, Japan's undeclared war on China has become a major operation. What was launched as a punitive expedition or a movement to sequester a few northern provinces has developed into a general invasion. Whether it was her original intention to pursue such a plan, Japan is now definitely committed to a military program which, if successful, would dominate all northwestern China. She must either establish control over an area of more than a million square miles and a population of more than two hundred millions, or suffer a tremendous loss of prestige. The further she goes inland—and she still has a long way to go—the thinner and weaker become her lines of communication. The difficulty of keeping those lines open is already apparent, and that involves the difficulty of getting an adequate supply of war materials up to the front. While striving to consolidate and hold positions already gained, she is attempting to relieve the military situation by establishing pup-

pet States like the one already set up at Nanking. If this policy succeeds, northern China will become a collection of little Manchukuoos. The question is whether they could be maintained, or whether China's national consciousness would survive the shock and gradually reassert itself. No one can contemplate what is going on in China without suspecting that a conflict has been opened which may last for generations, and that the significance of temporary triumph should not be overrated. And that brings up the question of our own attitude, particularly with regard to neutrality.

Mexico and Oil

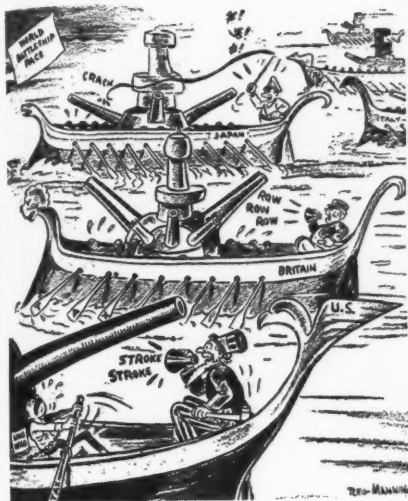
Many people thought that when Mexico confiscated foreign-owned oil properties, she would find a ready market in Japan. Maybe President Cardenas and his associates were moved to some extent by this prospect. It was one of those delusions, however, which come from shallow, if not wishful thinking. Japan would hardly antagonize those in control of the vast American supply of oil by purchasing the comparatively small amount which Mexico has available.

As a method of translating certain political ideals into action, Mexico's expropriation of foreign-owned oil properties may have been desirable. As a business venture, it seems likely to prove disappointing. The government is in possession of these properties and the workers have been granted increased pay, but operations are curtailed. The difficulty of converting this transaction into more bread and butter for those who need it is ap-



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parent. The same thing may be said with regard to paying the bill. Even hardboiled proponents of private enterprise can see some justification for the expropriation of private property with pay, but there are few outside the Communist Party who can see any justification for it without pay. At any rate, our State Department can not.

Mexico was not in a position to pay for these oil properties when she took them over. She could only raise the necessary funds by borrowing and she could only borrow a sufficient amount if the United States continued to buy her silver at a very high price, and peg her credit. Considering her dependence on this source of revenue, one wonders if she did not presume too much.

The entire incident is peculiarly unfortunate because of its irritating effect on relations between Mexico and the United States. These relations have been reasonably cordial during the last few years. It was to the interest of both countries that they remain so, and our own Government has leaned over backward in order to avoid anything that might weaken or disturb them. Not only that, but it has granted Mexico special favors.

From a strictly political standpoint, one can see why President Cardenas and his associates decided that the time was ripe for such a drastic move as the seizure of foreign-owned oil properties. Based as it was on the issue of increased wages for Mexican labor, the seizure promised to placate workers on the one hand and arouse a spirit of patriotism on the other. But all that constituted only one aspect of the problem. Americans will be pardoned for asking whether a different and more satisfactory way could not have been

found for achieving the same ends, and whether it is too late to reopen the question.

Futile Sympathy

As a general proposition, Americans sympathize with China just as they always sympathize with weak people when attacked. This sympathy, however, has accomplished little except to inspire some rather ineffective boycotts. Officially, trade goes on as usual, especially trade in oil, cotton, and other materials essential to war. It is quite true that China enjoys the same liberty to trade with us as Japan, but she lacks the means to take advantage of it on anything like equal terms. Our official attitude, therefore, helps Japan simply because Japan is in a position to buy more and pay for it.

Troubles of Our Own

Both the Government and the people of the United States are too preoccupied to be deeply moved or vexed by Mexico's seizure of foreign-owned oil properties. Their principal concern is over the possibility that trade and business relations may be disturbed. They are in no mood, however, to contribute anything to such a disturbance, and that should make a satisfactory solution all the easier. The predominating idea in this country right now is to put its own

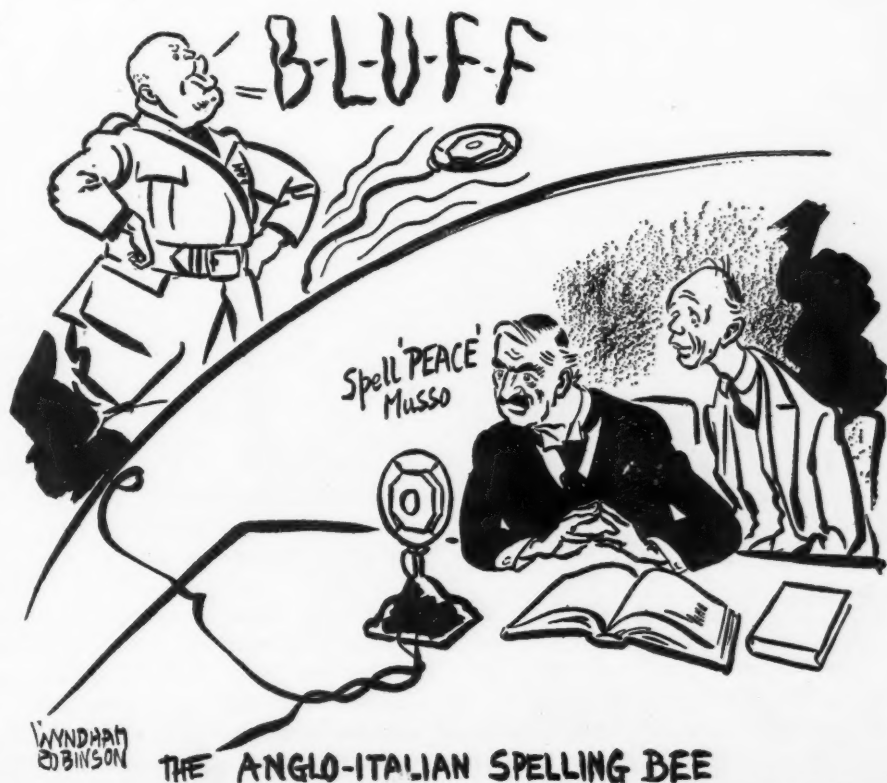


Arizona Republic

THE SANDWICH MAN

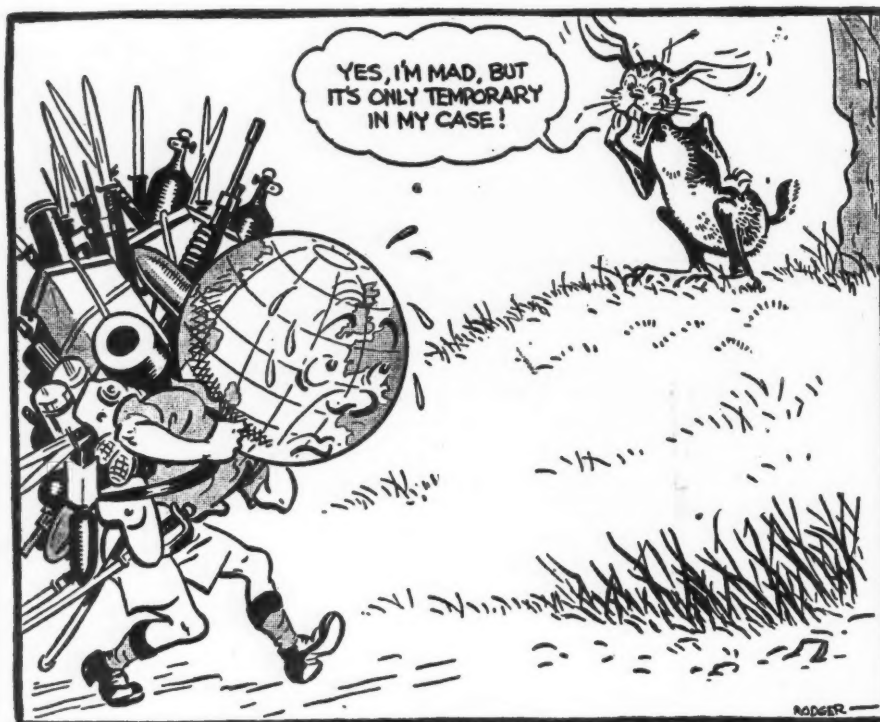
house in order. This does not imply that "isolation" has become a fixed conviction on the part of Americans, but it does mean that they are going to keep out of foreign entanglements as far as they can, until they have made more substantial progress in solving their own problems.

With unemployment holding steady, if not increasing; with relief rolls at a new peak; with stocks falling and business down; with the Federal debt increased by twenty billions and the cost of operating the Federal Government boosted from five to seven billions a year; with most States, counties, cities, and towns increasing their debts and



THE ANGLO-ITALIAN SPELLING BEE

Star, London



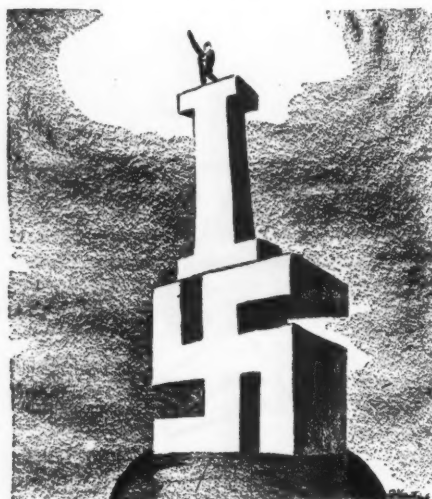
MAD MARCH DAYS

Glasgow Record

budgets in order to take advantage of Federal grants, a growing disposition to avoid outside problems is hardly more than natural. Nothing does more to make a good neighbor than the necessity of minding one's own business, and that is the position in which Americans find themselves. They have not beaten the depression in spite of all the spending, borrowing, and prophesying. They have prevented extreme distress, but they have not put their people back to work to anything like such an extent as is essential to real recovery.

Work, the Real Solution

More work and more production through work is, and always has been



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

HEAR YE! HEAR YE! HEAR YE!

the answer to depression. That is the only way to overcome losses and accumulate wealth. In the final analysis, buying power rests not on the amount of money people get, but on the volume of goods they produce and the added services they perform. The thought that buying power can be increased or created by the mere arbitrary adjustment of pay and prices, by the simple art of getting more for doing less, is not only futile but generally winds up with inflation. That, however, is the rainbow Americans have been chasing. Except for our tremendous reserves and resources, we would have come to disaster long ere this. You simply cannot continue to get more for doing less without having less to show for your money, and it is not the money, but what is back of the money that counts in the long run.

Not All Waste

It is true, of course, that the country has carried out some rather fine and useful projects in its struggle to overcome depression by the simple process of spending money, but many of them have been carried out at an excessive cost, while others have led to policies and commitments which are anything but encouraging. Thousands of miles of highways have been built; magnificent schools and apartment houses have been erected; gigantic programs of flood control, reforestation, and land reclamation have been launched, but

with all this has gone a deal of leaf-raking and boondoggling, not to mention a type of relief which promises to eventuate in the dole system. Among other things, the Federal Government has undertaken a program of power development which, if allowed to continue, might convert it into a real power monopoly.

TVA

One thing leads to another, which is just a way of saying that TVA and what it implies stand for something far different than the original promoters of Muscle Shoals intended. They had in mind a nitrate plant with fertilizer as a by-product. Then came the idea of flood control and hydro-electric power. The power was to be wholesaled from the switchhead to municipalities or private companies. This would furnish a yardstick by which to measure the cost of power production. But with one thing still leading to another, the idea of peddling power over Government transmission lines cropped up. Out of this grew the idea of developing model communities: when it became necessary to house workers and relocate those homesteaders who had been forced to leave reservoir sites. Since the taxpayers of the whole country were footing the bill for these various projects, they began to wonder why they should not be blessed with similar projects. Thus there developed a clamor for a whole lot of TVA's, especially where flood control was desirable and where the building of dams and reservoirs seemed feasible. But there are a lot of people who do not live close to rivers and who are just as much entitled to cheaper power. So we come to the question of whether the Government should not provide power



THE BIG GRAPPLE-SWING



Il 420, Florence

Rumania Takes the Road to Rome and Fascism and Throws Out Anti-Fascism and Communism

plants, yardsticks, model communities, etc., in coal, gas, or oil fields.

Pause for a Probe

The necessity for an investigation of TVA grows out of an unfortunate but perfectly natural incident. A disagreement among the directors was virtually inevitable. You just can't give three men such authority to plan, spend and experiment without provoking a clash of ideas. Relatively speaking, they were handed an empire with which to play. They were left free to develop and expand it much as they pleased. They were sure of unlimited capital through the tax-collecting system. They were at liberty not only to build dams, construct reservoirs, and produce electric power, but to undertake all sorts of economic and social ventures. Smooth cooperation was too much to expect from strong personalities and strong ideas.

The founders of this republic were wise enough to foresee and try to prevent just such eventualities by surrounding the Government and governmental agencies with proper checks. They were opposed to the issuance of blank checks and the granting of extensive authority, not for lack of faith in any particular person, but because they understood the weakness inherent in all persons.

As things now stand, an investigation is both necessary and desirable. It is needed not only to iron out the internal

conflict of opinion that has been developed, but to clarify the policies and commitments that are being shaped. The time has come to find out whether the Government is launching a program to produce hydroelectric power, or to reshape public policy toward all power production; whether the basic idea is to develop and control our rivers, or to promote public ownership; whether the primary object is to lower the cost of power, or to experiment along sociological lines.

Similar questions arise not only with respect to other phases of the New Deal, but to the New Deal as a whole. To what objectives is the country being committed, not so much by the declaration of those in authority, as by

the methods being pursued? In other words, where are the means being adopted taking us? This is an aspect of the situation which too few people take into account. Whether in private or public affairs, the real end is more often determined by the method chosen to attain it than by anything else. Most of us agree on the desirability of certain objectives; we all want health, peace, prosperity, etc. The real problem arises when we try to get what we want, and, in too many instances, we find ourselves getting something very different, because the methods pursued lead us into unlooked-for bypaths.

Reorganization

Five years ago, the American people thought they were voting for economy in government, for a decrease of bureaus, boards, and commissions, and a reduction of the public payroll. Other methods of meeting the depression, however, lead them in an opposite direction. Government expenses have increased; boards, bureaus, and commissions have multiplied, and the public payroll has reached enormous proportions. Reorganization of government services is in order. But many people think that something is needed besides moving the furniture to different offices. Also, they think that the legislative branch should have a bigger say-so in what is to be done and how it is going to be done. No one can review what has occurred, especially in connection with the Reorganization Bill, without sensing the growth of an unfavorable opinion toward the further extension of executive and administrative power.



Daily Herald, London

IS HE LEAVING STILL ANOTHER LEAGUE?

Latin-American Notes

THE economic graph of Latin-America, which for over two years since 1935 climbed to record heights, has lately been on the down grade, and just now points to an uncertain course. For the benefit of readers who hate the sight of statistical figures, let it be said that the following paragraphs make no pretense of being a trade survey. The interesting thing about the economic events in Latin-America as a whole during the past decade is not the statistical *how*, but the political *why*. And this refers to the world political situation.

Depression in Latin-America came soon after the crash of the Coolidge Bull Market in 1929. Most of the Latin-American public treasuries, cut off from their only source of supply and sunk in deeper debt than they had ever been before, defaulted their obligations. Latin-American government bonds dwindled to one-fourth or one-fifth in total market value. After the shower of billions in the reckless 'Twenties, there was deflation. Prices of Latin-American raw materials and foodstuffs broke down, and the volume of American trade with Latin-America, which had gone up to \$1,784,000,000 in 1928, fell to \$517,000,000 in 1932, losing all the ground it had gained since 1913. Latin-American nations joined in the universal war of tariff barriers and exchange retaliations.

Latin-America's trade relations with the outside world remained stagnant until the first war drums began rolling in the old world. 1935 marked the turning point when the fascist trumpets reawakened the war spirit in Europe, the mechanized Mussolinian hosts marched into Ethiopia, and the Teuton giant, knocked down at Versailles, rose wearing a brown shirt and showing a mailed fist to the world. Here was war at last! The hoards of greed, closed by the panic of 1929, were opened again by a new "confidence." War always has been good business. The armaments industry, having an increasing number of other tributary industries, was given the task of pulling the world out of the depression. Every great power was "in danger," and "had" to prepare for war. All of them needed raw materials and foodstuffs. Parliaments discussed war measures while speculators smiled.

Beating the Business Drum

LATIN-AMERICAN export values responded to the sudden demand. Depression was over in Latin-America. Besides, Dr. Schacht had successfully played his barter strategy in the southern continent, and Japan as well as Germany, fighting the British textile goods trade in world markets, could absorb great quantities of South American cotton. Cotton production jumped to its highest level in South America. However, the Ethiopian campaign dragged on without the expected complications, and the economists registered a slump. Speculators were somewhat disappointed.

But the Spanish "civil war," which was never a civil war, but, among other things, a bloody experiment in business boosting, came to the rescue. The quotations of South American copper, tin, ferromanganese, nitrates, vanadium, tungsten and many other "strategic" minerals climbed once more. Governments were planning huge food caches for war-time defense. And the prices of South American wheat

and corn and beef and mutton and a great variety of other supplies soared. Even coconuts, a harmless flavor in the old times, had now a war taste. The Latin-American economic curve took a leap.

By the end of 1936 the ante-war boom was in full swing in Latin-America. While the Pan-American conferees, gathered at Buenos Aires in the memorable conference, were discussing ways and means of maintaining peace, the cereal traders of Argentina were dealing in war values, and the Buenos Aires grain market reached heights never equalled since the World War.

The boom touched its peak during the first part of 1937, and it has lasted in most countries until the end of that year or the first quarter of 1938. Latin-American trade figures for 1937 will probably show in many cases an increase of 100 per cent over those of 1932, the worst depression year.

Bread and Bullets

THE drum-rolling peoples of Europe have developed a new economic theory that may be expressed in two words—bread and bullets. Who talks now of bread and butter? Bullets are more important than butter. Why? Simply because it is by means of bullets that you can get butter. This theory seems to have worked in South America, at least in its commercial implication. Since the beginning of the boom, a part of South American exports has been and is being exchanged for European and, to a lesser extent, American surplus and obsolete armaments. The European powers are paying for South American grains and meats and hides and wool and tin and quebracho partly with warships, guns, military aircraft, etc. This trade has reached such proportions that American exporters in other lines recently complained of the lack of Latin-American exchange, because "heavy purchasing of war equipment by Latin-American countries is depleting available dollar supplies." South American armament purchases in 1937, including the cost of naval vessels then in construction, may be estimated at more than \$160,000,000.

With the slump in the United States, things slowed down in Latin-America during the first part of the year. Besides, the fascist penetration in South America, threatening to bring war into that area in case of a vast conflict, has frightened away many investors who had thought of South America as a haven for endangered capital. The exodus of foreign funds from Argentina is said to have reached the sum of 400,000,000 pesos in the last few months.

Following the Nazi annexation of Austria, there came a turnabout from low levels in some Latin-American exports, and we may witness another boom in Latin-America if things get livelier in Europe, for we are living under a war-propelled economy.

A new factor in the Latin-American situation will be the present tremendous gold influx from Europe into the United States. American investments in the southern countries may expand as a result, although it is not likely their expansion will assume the reckless proportions it reached in the 'Twenties, because the United States Treasury has in its gold "sterilization" policy an effective control.

—G. A.

BENAVIDES OF PERU

*The record of an amazing dictator,
the boldest ruler in South America*

By GENARO ARBAIZA

WHILE Lima slept the night of February 4, 1914, President Billinghurst, the only ruler of English extraction Peru has had, tensely waited in the Pizarro Palace, scene of many political tragedies. He knew a conspiracy was under way to overthrow him, and as the hours passed he felt the trap-net closing on him. With the excuse that Billinghurst was about to dissolve Congress and make a "treacherous" deal with Chile, Augusto Durand, the eternal conspirator, had planned a *coup de main*. A majority in Congress and most of the Army were with him. It was to be a bloodless revolution. They would strike at any moment.

But something unexpected happened. Billinghurst's War Minister, General Varela, the only man able to make a stand, who had stayed for the night in the old Santa Catalina barracks, was killed in his bed by two officers. Whereupon infantry troops that had been secretly gathered in the dark lanes of Plaza de la Exposición, marched to the Pizarro Palace, and "took it" after an attack to which the government guard offered little or no resistance. At the head of the victors that entered the structure seeking Billinghurst was Colonel Benavides, then Chief of Army General Staff. He had led the *cuartelazo*. Today he is the ruler of Peru.

The insurgents compelled Billinghurst to sign a resignation, and, like other President-snatchers in Peruvian history, dragged him out of the Palace and ignominiously led him to Callao where they put him on a boat on his way to exile. When Durand later made his appearance at the Palace, he found that Benavides had stolen his revolution. Since Pizarro's murder four centuries ago in that same Palace, it has seen treason and conspiracy write most of the history of Peruvian rulers.

But, who was Benavides? About 38 years old, Lima knew him as the Hero of Caquetá. Up to 1911 he had been an obscure officer and had seen service in remote garrisons and training in France. Born in Lima in 1876, he entered the National Military Academy

at fourteen, and was made Second Lieutenant at eighteen.

The Caquetá fame came from a jungle frontier clash with Colombian troops upon the banks of the Caquetá river in 1911. It was a small affair where Benavides, in command of stronger troops, put to flight the Colombians "who carried with them more quinine pills than cartridges." Lima, where the brave do not abound, acclaimed the jungle strategist, and he knew how to translate his glory into power at the first chance.

Congress was in recess. The Civilista faction, with a parliamentary minority, allied itself to Benavides. That faction, the wealthiest and shrewdest in Peruvian politics, has profited more than any other from the national treasury during the past seven decades. A Junta headed by Benavides ruled for 100 days.

There was only one thing left to do for Durand and the congressional majority, whose conspiracy had been tricked out of their hands, to have Vice President Roberto Leguía take office in place of the deposed President. But the day Congress was supposed to meet, the 15th of May, Benavides sent his armed henchmen and *matones* to the Plaza de la Inquisición where the Chamber of Deputies is located in order to prevent the majority members from gaining access to the building. The trick succeeded. In fact, anticipating trouble, most of them stayed home with "indigestion" and "colds." Some were forbidden by their wives to go out.

"Named" President

But a few dared—among them Alberto Salomón, a Durandista liberal. When he approached the stronghold of Peruvian democracy, he was told to keep away by a group of gunmen posted nearby. Salomón defiantly walked on. A shot rang out and Salomón fell wounded in the head and shoulder. After receiving medical aid in the neighborhood, he insisted on being taken back on a stretcher to the Chamber. With the majority frightened away by bullets, that same day the Civilista

minority "named" Benavides Provisional President with the rank of Brigadier General.

During the nineteen months of his first dictatorship, he ruled by martial law, and sometimes, his critics say, invented plots in order to prolong it. There were political persecutions and indefinite prison terms, suppression of workers in Llaucán, Vitarte, Arequipa, and a slaughter of Indians on the banks of the Napo river. Yet, he was doing what most Peruvian dictators have done. He was preserving a tradition of government by violence that with few intervals has lasted since Colonial times.

The technique of turning national into private funds has reached a great degree of refinement among Peruvian political leaders in one hundred years of practice, and Lima really likes and admires its distinguished dictatorial rascals who know how to perform the trick and insure themselves against the contingency of being snatched away at dawn from the governmental palace by a new crop of traitors. But Lima despises amateurish little tyrants, too obvious and clumsy in their financial maneuvers.

And she was disgusted with Benavides when his dictatorial days came to an end in 1915 and when the Civilista leader, José Pardo, after using the Hero of Caquetá to block Vice President Roberto Leguía, had himself "appointed" President by a political convention. Lima was disgusted with his vulgarity, and when he took leave, the populace hissed him and stoned his carriage until he disappeared into private life.

In Exile

From that time on he became a potential conspirator—for within the Peruvian circle of dictatorship to prevent revolution, and revolution to end dictatorship, conspiracy is a serious political function. Rulers keep potential conspirators away either by deportation or diplomatic appointment. And Benavides then began his diplomatic career.

The following year, 1916, he was

sent on a military mission to France, and in 1917, appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Italy. But then in 1919, another *cuartelazo* by Augusto B. Leguía drove Pardo and the Civilistas out of the national vaults. Benavides hastened back to the country and took up his duties as Conspirator No. 1.

When Leguía, in May 1921, deported him with a score of leaders to Australia on the liner *Paita* for plotting a revolution, he and his fellow-deportees organized a mutiny on the high seas, 1,500 miles off Callao. Armed with revolvers they had obtained somehow before being taken on board the ship, they overpowered the officers of the steamer, and directed the crew to turn about and steer to Costa Rica where the cargo of statesmen was landed. Some of his fellow-mutineers are today sharing power with him.

Then while Leguía sat at the dollar feast table of the 'Twenties, enraptured by the golden saxophones of American financial jazz, the Hero of Caquetá wandered in the obscurity of exile—still waiting for his chance. There remains no record of his wandering during the peak years of Leguía's dictatorship until 1928 when he issued from Guayaquil a ringing protest against Leguía's "tyranny" and against a treaty the Leguía government had signed with Colombia compromising the Leticia dispute. However, in later years Benavides is to do a similar thing.

By 1930 Leguía is tottering. The American purse that supported him has been closed, and American diplomacy has allowed Latin-American affairs to drift. As Leguía's hold grows weaker, the outburst of political revenge becomes more threatening. It is the moment to strike. But Benavides is in Paris, and this time, another *cuartelazo* Colonel, Sánchez Cerro, leading the southern forces, beats him to it. And when the new hero, who has put an end to Leguía's eleven years of dictatorship, flies to Lima in August 1930 and enters the Capital in a triumphal march amid a rain of flowers and the pealing of church bells, he is hailed as the savior of Peru.

The irony of it all! Sánchez Cerro has learned the art of President-snatching from Benavides himself, for he has been an officer in the force Benavides led in 1914 to haul Billingham out of the Pizarro Palace. It was there that Sánchez Cerro, in seizing a machine gun by the muzzle, had two fingers blown off. This new Colonel is a tough, reckless warrior. The Hero of Caquetá, now fifty-four years old, is a decaying

figure before the new rival, fifteen years younger. There is no problematic jungle-clash bravery about Sánchez Cerro. His body has been hit by fourteen bullets in action. Did the Civilistas want a Colonel? Well—here was a new, a better one. And the Civilistas hasten to Sánchez Cerro's support.

The Hero of Caquetá feels eclipsed. And the shame of it all, eclipsed by an ugly, vociferous Indian! Sánchez Cerro has robbed him of a chance he has been waiting for during fifteen years. Sánchez Cerro stands now between him and the Pizarro Palace. But, wait—that Indian would see!

Another Chance

Sánchez Cerro has come to lodge in the Pizarro Palace at just the wrong time. It is 1931, and Peruvian economy is going through the worst of the depression. The brakes of international deflation have been jammed on Peru, political turmoil has interfered with tax collection, and the national treasury is wobbling. Besides, Sánchez Cerro has announced his "candidacy" for the presidency. There are other colonels who want to be heroes. A wave of counter-revolutionary outbreaks and juntas sweeps the country. Turbulence spreads. Finally, the Navy sends an ultimatum to Sánchez Cerro to resign, and the new dweller at the Pizarro Palace, who checked in so gloriously six months before, is compelled to check out. Then the provisional government which succeeds him sends him on a military "mission" to France.

Benavides sees another chance, and hurries back to Peru. But he finds he is unwelcome. Lima has forgotten the Hero of Caquetá—he is getting old. The Sanchezerristas hiss him upon his arrival. However he tries to be a compromise candidate, but the move fails. The Sanchezerristas emerge strong from a series of plots and counter-plots, and as a result of make-believe elections, Sánchez Cerro, who gets a grand reception upon his return in July 1931, assumes office as President the following December. No—it wasn't Benavides' chance yet.

Sánchez Cerro invites him to head his first cabinet. What! To serve under the vile, swaggering Indian rival? That would be to confess the end of his ambition to return to power. And Benavides refuses.

A Timely Threat

His real chance for a comeback appears only about a year and a half later, in 1932, when the Leticia dispute

between Peru and Colombia has been drummed up by European, American and Japanese munitions makers into a war threat between the two countries. From London, where as envoy to the Court of St. James he has resumed his diplomatic career, Benavides offers his military services to Sánchez Cerro, but the distrustful rival does not accept. In spite of this, he gets back to Peru, and announces upon his arrival in March, 1933: "I have returned to help defend our sovereignty."

By this time Sánchez Cerro's popularity has vanished. He has turned out to be one of the most bloodthirsty of Peruvian despots. He has closed down newspapers, crowded San Lorenzo Island with prisoners, jailed or deported all the opposition members in Congress, killed thousands in northern Peru. And he is getting too insanely arrogant for the Civilistas to control. That is all to Benavides' good.

In the frenzied braggadocio of the Leticia war preparations, Benavides' sword regains the faded lustre of Caquetá, and Sánchez Cerro, probably afraid of him, is compelled to appoint him Chief of the Armed Forces of Peru. At that moment, anyone knowing Peruvian politics can foresee that Sánchez Cerro's days are counted.

Less than a month later, on April 30, 1933, Sánchez Cerro is assassinated after a military revue. The assassin, Alberto Mendoza, whose motives have never been established, fires two shots point blank at him, and as Sánchez Cerro is not wearing his coat of mail because of the excessive heat, they penetrate his left arm and breast. Mendoza is instantly killed and hacked to pieces by soldiers of the Republican Guard.

That same afternoon a puppet, panicky Congress, meeting in special session, "chooses" General Benavides as Chief Executive for the remainder of the presidential term ending December 8, 1936, although the new Constitution of Peru, proclaimed by that very Congress a few days before, on April 9, forbids the election of the head of the Army as Chief Executive.

The Apra

When the time fixed for a new election came in October, 1936, something new had happened in the Peruvian political scene. The rumblings of world social revolution had been heard in Peru, and the example of the Mexican Revolution and the trend toward economic nationalism in other more advanced Latin-American countries had aroused the incipient middle-class and

the new-minded youth in that country. The Apra, a new fighting movement that for the first time proposed to stop the anarchical course of Peruvian politics and undertake the task of a planned nationalistic economy, had captured the rising generation in a few years and had gained 51 out of 145 seats in the Chamber of Deputies in 1931. Sánchez Cerro and Benavides delivered brutal blows on the new movement—and October 1936 found the Apra driven underground by persecution, exile, jail and murder. It seemed quite safe for the dictator to hold "elections." The Apra was outlawed as "communistic." To decent, devil-fearing Peruvians, communism is not a doctrine, but some sort of satanic turpitude, as robbery or incendiarism. Of course, the Apra is not communistic. Its program could be called mildly progressive in the United States, but in medieval-minded Lima fading pink is flaming red. Having outlawed it, Benavides regarded it as good as crushed. The "election" was intended to have Prado, one of Benavides' *camarilla*, succeed him.

At the eleventh hour the Apra threw its available voting strength to a subterfuge candidate, Eguiguren. And when the vote computation began, Eguiguren was found to be leading with a plurality over the other three candidates. Benavides ordered the counting stopped, the polling voided, and on November 14, 1936, he had his Congress "extend" his term for three years until December 1939. Then he put the fascist touch to the episode by dissolving the Congress that had proclaimed him dictator by law. And now he is ruling the country by decree.

One camera shot of Benavides shows him attending as Chief Executive a mass of the Catholic Eucharistic Congress held in Lima a short while before the election, and receiving Communion from the hands of the Archbishop of Lima. His Grace is depositing the holy wafer upon his tongue. It happened that Eguiguren, the candidate disqualified as representing a dangerous, diabolical organization, had been for years no less than the Archbishop's

lawyer. Thus by using an adviser of the hierarchy as their candidate, the Apristas had played a trick on Benavides. They forced him to come out into the open as a dictator, and they showed their electoral strength to the world. But, at the same time, they risked carrying into power a man in



Oscar Benavides addressing the Aviation Conference at Lima, Peru.

the service of the Catholic Church who was not an Aprista, and who might have turned the trick against them.

To sum up, during the two political decades since Benavides raided the Pizarro Palace in 1914, all the rulers of Peru, four in number, were overthrown, one by assassination; there were four *cuartelazos*; the presidential palace was attacked five times; half a dozen *coups d'état* were carried out, and seven *juntas de gobierno* set up and dissolved; and there were four provisional presidents chosen by fake congresses or otherwise. The grand total is—five dictatorships, and not a single real, or respected, election.

The Man

Benavides does not excite the slightest interest as a man. Some tropical dictators rise to power lifted by the driving force of character. Not so Benavides. It would be useless to seek an explanation of his rise in any great trait of character. He has none. There

is nothing in his record that would single him out as remarkable in any sense. That jungle clash has been his only card in public life. He owes his luck to Leguía, who sent him as commander of the expedition, and to the Civilistas who have turned the Hero of Caquetá into their gendarme. The astuteness he is often credited with is a common trait among Peruvian politicians.

People who know him describe him as dull and insipid. Short and fat, with owl eyes and distended abdominal lines, today, at sixty-two, his roundness has a bloated look. For his baldness, his protruding head, his facial pudginess and irregular features, his puffy complexion, his stumpy hands, his height and obesity, endocrinologists might classify him as a case of thyroid deficiency, which would explain his dullness. His vanity—a vanity that fluctuates between acts of great generosity to relatives and friends, and acts of relentless cruelty toward his enemies—is also a common trait among Peruvians of Spanish descent. This double-track vanity has been a traditional force in Latin-American politics.

His conception of government is that of a sergeant. When a friend asked him how hard he found it to be a ruler, he answered: "Not hard at all. You see—when I was a Captain, I commanded my company; when I was a Major, I commanded my battalion. Now I am President, and command the country." González Prada used to say that in Peru the presidency of the republic is the highest military degree.

Benavides belongs to the same political species that has produced the Batista variety in Cuba, the Trujillo variety in Santo Domingo, the Ubico variety in Guatemala and other specimens. But just now he leads them all in notoriety, for Benavides' fascist performance has become the star attraction in the Latin-American show. It is this Punchinellian performance, with the strings operated from Rome, and particularly the Caproni sensation, that has made him famous and has drawn world attention to an otherwise obscure Benavides of Peru.

This is the first of two articles by Mr. Arbaiza on Peru. The second, appearing in the next issue, will deal with Benavides' regime, and with the present political and economic situation in Peru.

Blended

MR. ROOSEVELT'S "LITTLE" NAVY

By JOHN C. WINSLOW

A CRITICAL situation in naval affairs confronted the first New Deal Administration. While the other powers had been initiating building programs designed to bring their navies up to the limits of the Washington and London Naval Treaties, we had been frankly resting on our laurels. It is true that from our standpoint the nineteen-twenties carried no hint of danger. Economically harassed, Europe was still reeling from the impact of the World War, and we were "sitting pretty" with our superior resources and our stubborn faith in disarmament limitation.

But world conditions began to change. In Europe and the Far East, the fatal pre-war philosophy was re-born. Aggressive nationalism was soon to reach its logical conclusion—war, undeclared but deadly—in the conquest of Ethiopia, the Spanish civil war, the invasion of China. Already Japan had pushed into Manchukuo.

Across the ocean, we were facing the climax of a twelve-year policy of inaction. Our hope had gradually turned into disillusionment. Continuation of our Coolidge and Hoover naval policy would have placed us, by 1936, far astern of Great Britain, and probably not ahead of Japan in actual strength.

It is barely possible that large scale construction might have been put off another year or so under a chief executive with isolationist tendencies, but the new president had no such leaning. By birth, environment, experience, and inclination, Franklin Roosevelt was the one man who could be counted on to build up our navy. His career as Assistant Secretary of the Navy from 1913 to 1920 had given him an intimate perspective of the naval scene from a naval point of view. He knew his subject, and he knew where to turn for support and advice.

Whatever may have been the vagaries of Mr. Roosevelt's civil and economic approaches to government, his naval policy was from the outset that of a realist. The treaties were at their last gasp; other powers were stepping up their building programs with alarm-

ing acceleration; the United States could afford to lose no time in the reestablishment of her prestige.

And no time was lost. In the spring of 1933, a \$238,000,000 appropriation from N. R. A. funds for the purpose of building 32 new naval vessels heralded the first major construction program since 1916, and the Vinson-Trammell Act, passed in 1934, providing for building up to treaty strength, with systematic replacement and modernization of obsolete vessels, actually laid the keels of our present navy.

Japan's open denouncement of the Washington Treaty in the fall of 1934 set the stage for the present armament race, but before discussing that race, it may be useful to call to mind some of the basic facts about modern sea power.

In general terms a navy may be defined as a force of bases, armed ships, and men serving as an instrument of varying importance in the furtherance of national and international interests. Its chief unit is the fleet, a complete tactical grouping of different types of vessels, each category having peculiar and common functions of attack and defense, and a definite relation to the whole.

Battleships, with a complement of between 1200 and 1500 officers and men, constitute the fleet's main line of attack and defense. They carry the big, long-range guns, and their heavy armor enables them to withstand attacks from the air, the sea, and below the sea. Cruisers are the scouts of the fleet, the far-flung naval outposts. They guard against surprise, seek out the enemy, and establish preliminary contact. Destroyers form an outer circle around the battleships and aircraft carriers, protecting them against submarine attack. The submarines, in turn, seek to elude the depth bombs of the enemy destroyers, break through their lines, and discharge their deadly torpedoes, complicated, motorized, sub-surface projectiles, each costing thousands of dollars.

In time of war, the navy seeks to block the enemy's supply routes without precipitating any major engage-

ment. However, if a large scale battle is necessary, the main object of the fleet is to destroy the enemy forces by bringing the big guns of the battleships into effective use. In order to accomplish this, control of the air is of primary importance. Our aircraft carriers each carry 70 planes. It is up to them to disable the enemy's fighting planes, or cripple the decks of the enemy carriers to prevent their taking off. Once control of the air has been attained, our own battleships' observation seaplanes may be catapulted from the decks and fly high and unhampered over the enemy's fleet to direct the fire of the big guns. When one considers the range of a 14, 15, or 16 inch gun, between ten and twenty miles, the value of accurate observation and correction of fire from a high altitude becomes evident.

Comparative Figures

The requirements of nations vary considerably in respect to types of ships. Italy, for example, is concentrating on submarines, destroyers, and torpedo boats, small, fast vessels of maximum effectiveness in restricted waters like the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, and the Red Sea. England, with her widely separated possessions and her precarious geographical position, must be strong in all categories, particularly in light, fast cruisers that can go places quickly. The United States, in her fortunate isolation, points towards a strong defensive navy. In this connection it is significant that our battleships now under construction are designed for a maximum speed of 27 knots, whereas those building in foreign shipyards are less heavily armored and designed to make 30 knots.

According to Secretary of the Navy Swanson's report at the end of 1936, our navy, due to the unparalleled revival of building under the first Roosevelt Administration, was entering the new year a greatly strengthened organization. In 1936, 28 new vessels totaling 52,000 tons had passed into service, leaving 95 vessels, including 3

aircraft carriers, 11 cruisers, 63 destroyers, and 18 submarines in various stages of completion.

Great Britain

On February 16, 1937, in a "White Paper," vehicle of official government proclamation, Great Britain announced her intention of borrowing 400,000,000 pounds in the next five years as the first installment of a 1,500,000,000 pound rearmament project, and to embark immediately on the greatest naval construction program ever undertaken in time of peace. At Geneva last September, Mr. Eden stated that: "At present the aggregate tonnage of the principal types of warship actually building for the Royal Navy exceeds 450,000 tons. . . . Naval personnel is being extended at a rate without precedent in our country in time of peace."

Italy

Although there is no immediate danger of any other European Power threatening England on the sea, the nations are far from idle. Italy, next to Britain the most vulnerable to blockade, is seeking under her new regime to regain the sea power she lost centuries ago. Her navy today is a smart, well trained organization, specialized in destroyers, super-destroyers, torpedo boats, and submarines. Her so-called "Mosquito Fleet," a flotilla of swift motorboats, manned by daredevils and capable of a speed of 47 knots, is a great potential force in her geographical position. Italy has two 35,000-ton, 30-knot battleships, the *Littorio* and *Vittorio Veneto* nearing completion, and two others, along with twelve new scouting cruisers, definitely projected.

Germany

In Germany, two aircraft carriers, three 10,000 ton cruisers, six 1,800 ton destroyers, and sixteen 1,625 ton destroyers complete the main points in the Reich's present naval program, which will most certainly be expanded in the near future. With her notorious "Pocket Battleships," vessels high in nuisance value designed to get around the limits of the Versailles Treaty, and her four battleships under construction, the 26,500 ton *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau*, and two 35,000 tonners, the German Navy will constitute a fighting force of great power for deep sea work.

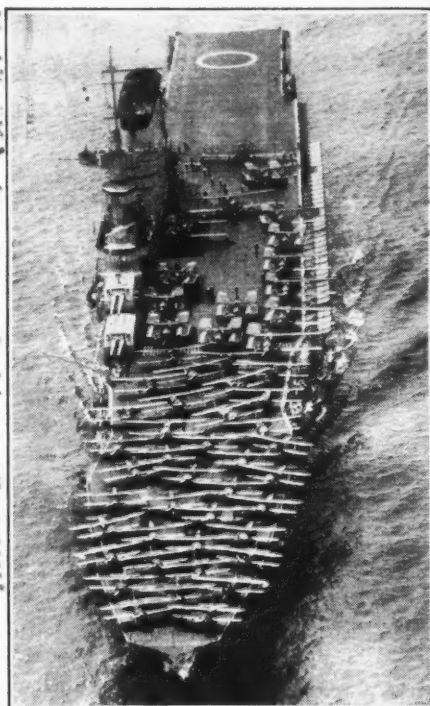
France

As part of her vast arms program, which in 1937 cost \$24 per capita, France is aiming at a capital ship

squadron of nine fast, heavily armed vessels, which would make her a close fourth to Japan in sea power. Already she has finished the *Dunkerque*, a 26,500 ton, 13 inch gun ship of radical design, and her sister-ship, the *Strasbourg*, is well under way. The 35,000 ton *Richelieu* and *Jean Bart* are under construction.

Japan

Japan's rapid development towards a treaty navy was well known, but after



COMPROMISE: The aircraft carrier seems to be the solution in the debate over the relative merits of airplane and battleship. The U.S.S. LEXINGTON is pictured above.

1936, the year set for the expiration of the treaties, she has been able to veil her building program in complete secrecy. That she is going ahead on a large scale is certain, but it seems extremely doubtful that she can equal the building activities of England and the United States and conduct the Chinese War at the same time. Substantial rumor has it, however, that three monster, 43,000 ton, 18 inch gun battleships, the largest ever planned, and 63 other men-of-war, are actually under construction in Japanese yards. When, and if, rumors of these super-battleships become facts, it will be interesting to note what steps the United States will take to counteract such effective bargaining trumps.

United States

As a general commentary on the armament race which began officially

on January 1, 1937, it was revealed in the Navy Department's "Summaries of Comparative Naval Data," released last July 28, that 353 men-of-war of the five principal categories (battleships, cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers, and submarines) were known to be building in the shipyards of six sea powers, and that the rate of building was accelerating even faster than in the pre-war competition. Of those six powers, the United States was far from being the least active.

In May, 1936, Congress passed the \$529,000,000 Navy Appropriation Bill for the fiscal year 1937-1938, a record peacetime provision, brought to vote in record time. Among the features of the bill was an allotment of \$4,000,000 for starting construction on two \$60,000,000 battleships of 35,000 tons each, provision for the laying down of 12 new destroyers and 6 submarines, construction of 333 new airplanes, and increase in enlisted strength from 93,000 to 100,000 men, with an additional 3,000 to be added the following year.

Of that enormous appropriation, \$185,084,579 was spent on the pay, subsistence, and transportation of naval personnel; \$130,000,000 on building; \$49,500,000 on aviation; \$24,429,800 on ordnance, including the manufacture of ammunition and target practice (it costs about \$2300 to fire a 16-inch gun double salvo); \$22,080,800 for the preservation and renewal of machinery; and \$19,458,500 for the designing, repairing, maintenance, and alteration of naval vessels. The remaining \$100,000,000 went for such miscellaneous items as the Marine Corps, the Naval Academy, the Navy Department at Washington, and the operation of the various navy yards.

Budget Bureau estimates indicated an allotment of \$576,000,000 for the fiscal year 1938-1939, representing an increase of \$47,000,000 over the previous year, and providing for 2 more battleships, 2 new light cruisers of 7,500 tons, 8 destroyers, 6 submarines, 1 minesweeper, 1 submarine tender, 1 fleet tug, and 1 oiler.

In addition to the various classes of ships being built, two new steel floating dry-docks for Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, are in the preliminary stage. One of them, the *ARD-3*, will be the largest in the world, 1,016 feet long, 45,000 tons in weight, 75 feet from top deck to keel, and with a beam of 165 feet (The *Queen Mary* is the same length, with a beam of only 118 feet). According to *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings* of February 1937, this monster man-of-

war hospital, operating under its own bow and stern engines, containing living quarters, an infirmary, and a movie theatre, "will greatly facilitate maintenance and repair work on ships in the Pacific, and will add further to the importance of the Hawaiian Islands as a naval center."

Although our naval air force ranks about sixth among the powers in actual numerical rating (we have 1500 planes at the present time but are aiming towards 2000), it is second to none in efficiency. In addition to the regular officers who form the nucleus of this branch of the navy, we have a reserve of highly trained, hand-picked pilots ready for action at a minute's notice. Of 500 applicants, chiefly college graduates, applying for training at the naval air school at Pensacola, only 100 are accepted. At the conclusion of twelve months rigorous training in every kind of flying and technical study, only 50 of the original 100 are detailed for further instruction. The pilots selected spend two years with the fleet as cadet officers on the aircraft carriers or on the battleships and heavy cruisers, each of which carries from two to five seaplanes. At the conclusion of this term, and in addition to the regular salary they have been receiving, each aviator receives a lump sum of \$1500 as a compensation for lost time, no small remuneration considering the fact that nowadays the average civilian three years out of college has seldom been able to save anything.

In striking contrast to our smart air machine, one branch of Mr. Roosevelt's Navy is at a low ebb both as to size and efficiency of operation. Fortunately, as a direct result of the Kennedy Maritime Commission, something is going to be done about our merchant marine, but it will be many years before we can point with any degree of complacency to that all-important wartime arm of the service.

Following Suit

Apart from the record budget appropriation which will most certainly become law during the current session of Congress, an additional \$2,000,000,000 long term program designed to increase all categories by 20 per cent more than the present objective is being seriously discussed. It is extremely unlikely that any substantial yearly expenditure over and above the tremendous budget appropriation will be incurred, but that we will gradually step up our entire building program seems certain in view of what is hap-

pening in England. Her present aim in cruisers alone is 70, whereas our program calls for an eventual 42. As Admiral William D. Leahy, Chief of Naval Operations, said last winter on the occasion of the British Announcement, "It is a fair presumption that if any other power expands its navy appreciably we will have to follow." How swiftly, he neglected to mention. Due to the rapid development of new types of vessels during an armament race or a war, and the resulting acceleration of obsolescence, most naval officers "in the know" favor long term increases rather than any sudden building splurge.

In guessing at the future, it is useful to go outside expert opinion and consider the various minorities which seek to mould public opinion on naval policy. There are four distinct groups:

1. The isolationists, who maintain that there is no danger of the United States ever being attacked, that she should make no attempt to influence world affairs, and consequently, that a navy strong enough to police her trade routes should be wholly adequate. Though relatively weak today, the isolationist sentiment will always be a power throughout the middle west and other inland sections of the country. It is hard to visualize the practical necessity for battleships if one has never seen the ocean.

2. The "treaty navy" advocates, who would confine our navy to the limits of the expired treaties, believing that such a force would be capable of defending our independence and swinging the balance where we chose in the event of our entering another European war. However, this group is fast learning that with unrestricted competition it is impossible to set any arbitrary limitation. Naval strength is relative. Under one set-up their fleet might be the strongest in the world. On the other hand, if Japan were twice as strong, the precious "treaty navy" would be about as useful as a football team going into its climax game with only six men.

3. The "navy second to none" faction, including most of the naval officers and others connected with the navy, and favoring nothing less than absolute parity with Great Britain.

4. The "supremacy of the sea" extremists, who maintain that universal peace can only exist under the influence of a dominant sea power, as in the case of Athens, Rome, and England of the past, that the United States is the only nation qualified by isolation, impregnability, and wealth of resources

to attain unquestioned naval supremacy, and that consequently, she holds the future of the world in her hands. There is, of course, ample historical evidence to support this theory. We did have a unique opportunity to achieve supremacy of the seas during the years immediately following the war, when the most powerful fleet ever projected was nearing completion in our yards, but we chose to scrap our ace in the hole in the cause of armament limitation. Could we have foreseen what is going on today, we might have played a different tune on our international fiddle. *We need a navy strong enough for defense.* *Towards the Future*

The naval program of the Roosevelt Administration, together with the obvious external factors, will probably leave us navy-minded for many years to come, although public opinion based on considerations of economy will never permit us to follow out the theory of group number four, any more than the preparedness bloc will ever yield to the policy of the isolationists.

Due to our natural position of "Great Neutral" in time of war, and Great Britain's comparative inability to side-step any European war, there appears to be no reason why we should attempt to match her ship for ship, bluejacket for tar. Undoubtedly we will continue to aim towards a navy "second to none," but the "second to none" will mean, actually, "not too far behind England, and comfortably ahead of Japan."

It is the conviction of many, including Mr. Roosevelt, that our present and future building programs are perfectly in accord with our aims toward the limitation of armaments. Certainly the success of the Washington Conference was largely due to our vast, potential strength at that time. Because of our geographical position, we must take the lead in future disarmament discussion — when any lead is taken. And it will be far more effective, if, instead of saying, "Why don't you scrap your ships down to our level?" we are able to say, "Let us put aside these arms together."

For the present, we can only repeat the question asked by Admiral Pratt in a 1935 article in *Foreign Affairs*: "Will the good beginning in the establishment of security and the preservation of peace made at the Washington Conference be allowed to pass into the limbo of forgotten things?"

In view of the tragic developments of the past three years, the answer must be: "Yes, temporarily, at least."

UNFAIRLY NO X, HOSTILE ATTITUDE, DANGER

TRUE BUT DANGEROUS

5 of blood in war

Pravly for defense

JAPAN PURSUES A DESTINY

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

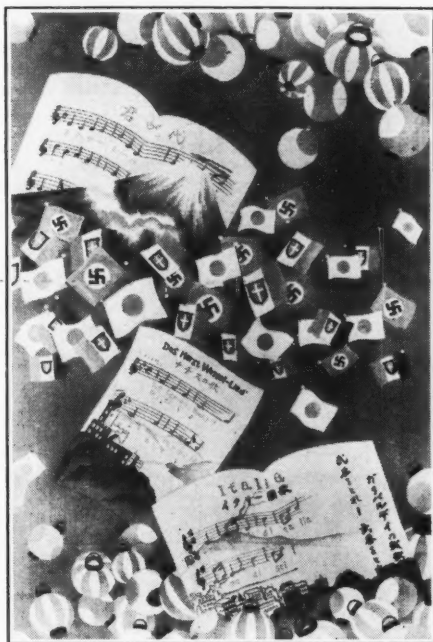
WHAT began as a demonstration, designed to create in the Chinese a more cooperative or submissive attitude in regard to Japanese political and economic desires in North China, has turned into a major continental war of conquest. A million Japanese troops, in round numbers, are occupied today on a long imperial line running for thousands of miles, from the neighborhood of Vladivostok on the outer rim of the vast irregular arc that marks the northern frontier of Manchoukuo, around the steppes and deserts of Inner Mongolia, through the mountains of Shansi down to the Yellow River and beyond. A secondary sphere of conquest includes the lower valley of the huge Yangtze River up to and beyond Nanking. The regions which have been occupied since hostilities began last summer already amount to over 300,000 square miles.

Taken together with Manchoukuo, which is over three times the size of Japan proper, with the older Japanese colonial possessions, Korea and Formosa, with the outlining outposts of the Island Empire, South Sakhalin and the Kuriles in the North and the widely dispersed Mandated South Seas Islands in the South, the new acquisitions round out an empire of very respectable size.

And, although China seems likely to absorb Japan's energies for many years to come, the ambitions of its more outspoken nationalists do not stop there. General Matsui, with whom I had a long talk on the question of Pan-Asianism before the outbreak of the present war, expressed the view that Asia should be for the Asiatics, Europe for the Europeans and America for the Americans. Admiral Suetsugu was even more emphatic in a recent magazine article, in which he declared:

"From the standpoint of world peace, unless the colored races are liberated and unless White domination of the world is reconstructed, the so-called justice and humanity so often advocated by the White peoples will remain only empty sounds. Unless the colored races are rescued from their miserable slavery under the yoke of the White peoples, there can be no world peace."

Now the rallying cry of the Pan-Asian movement, "Asia for the Asiatics," carries a distinct implication: Asia for the Japanese. For Japan has gained such a long start over all other oriental countries in military and naval power, in shipping, in industrial development that an Asia from which Western interests were eliminated would almost inevitably fall under Japanese hegemony, commercial if not political.



SILKEN PROPAGANDA: A new Japanese design in silk print, now enjoying a wide popularity in Nippon, contains the flags and national anthems of Germany, Italy, and Japan.

The course of hostilities in China gives impressive proof of the superiority of the Japanese over other Asiatic people in any test of material strength. A sixfold larger reserve of manpower and the advantages of a defensive position have been of little avail to the Chinese. The Japanese military machine has ground its way forward relentlessly. Japan has inflicted losses that are probably ten times greater than those which it has sustained. Japanese airplanes have bombed Chinese towns as far inland as Ichang and Chungking, on the Upper Yangtze, and Japanese warships have cut off a large part

of China's normal trade. Meanwhile Japan's own factories, railways and shipping lines continue to operate on regular schedules without fear of interruption. The only Chinese reprisal from the air has been a raid, completely futile so far as military results were concerned, on Formosa.

If this has been the experience of China, what would be the chance, if pitted against Japan, without the aid of Western overlords or protectors, of countries which are even behind China in military and industrial advancement, of the Philippines, for instance, or Malaya, or French Indo-China, or the Dutch East Indies, or even India? The imperialist "burden" which Japan, under certain circumstances, may feel an impulse to take on her shoulders during the next decades is a huge one indeed. What are the factors, favorable and unfavorable, that affect Japan's prospects of taking her place among the great imperialist powers? They fall into several categories: the degree of resistance which may still be expected in China, Japan's economic ability to weather the financial strain of war and conquest, the measure of opposition which outside powers may show and Japan's own capacity, over a long period of time, to digest and develop new colonial areas. Let us weigh these four sets of factors in the balance as objectively as possible, without wishful thinking.

Possible Resistance

(1) Chinese resistance. I have talked with no military expert in the Far East who believes that the Chinese can hold any position over a long period of time in the face of a determined Japanese drive. China used up its best troops and best munitions in the protracted struggle on the outskirts of Shanghai. While the Japanese movement to close the gap between their conquests in North China and in Central China has proceeded relatively slowly this is mainly due to causes apart from the quality of the Chinese resistance. Among these may be mentioned the desire to achieve military objectives with a minimum loss of life,

the unfavorable winter weather, the extensive troop replacements which have been carried out in view of the likelihood of protracted hostilities and the need for "mopping up" and consolidating the territory which has already been occupied. But that the Japanese Army can take any place, within geographical reason, which they desire to take in China is scarcely open to reasonable doubt.

There still remain the possibilities of guerrilla warfare. Many Chinese and foreign sympathizers with China cling to the hope that small mobile units, adopting the tactics of swift attack and swift retreat, so consistently practiced by the Chinese communist armies during their long struggle against the Central Government, may succeed where efforts to oppose regular frontal opposition to the Japanese drives have failed.

It would be rash to draw too many analogies between the success with which the Chinese communists employed elusive guerrilla tactics in their campaigns against Chiang Kai-shek and the probable outcome of the same tactics against the Japanese. It is a decidedly different matter to catch by surprise or to elude the lax, poorly trained troops of the Central Government, most of whom had little heart for the struggle, and the keen, highly trained, merciless Japanese who are equipped to deal with guerrilla bands.

The Japanese must certainly reckon with passive resistance, apart from military operations. They have already been disappointed by the failure of any outstanding Chinese local warlord, of any distinguished name in the Kuomintang to come over to their side. But this obstacle does not seem insuperable. Men can always be had for places in a puppet government, some inspired by self-interest, others sincerely convinced that they can do some good by serving as at least a feeble buffer between the Japanese military authorities and the Chinese people.

A shrewd foreign observer in Manchoukuo once said to me:

"I never met a Chinese who does not, at bottom, hate the Japanese,—and this is true of Chinese who have accepted service in the Manchoukuo Government. But a Chinese can wait three hundred years, if necessary, until he finds a favorable opportunity for satisfying his hatred."

It would not be surprising if this same observation should hold good for the Chinese population of those regions which are marked out for a long

period of virtual Japanese suzerainty. Active resistance, once its hopelessness is clearly demonstrated, may well give way to a kind of fatalistic sullenness.

Economic Vulnerability

(2) Economic strain in Japan. Advocates of economic sanctions against Japan argue that the country is so vulnerable to economic pressure that it could be brought to abandon its campaigns in China by concerted refusal to trade on the part of the United States, Great Britain and a few other countries. And Chinese nationalists with whom I talked during a recent trip in China expressed the hope that Japan would crack under the strain of war sooner than China. They contended that Japan is spending far more than China on the war and that the Japanese economic structure, because it is more modern and complex, is more liable to derangement than the more self-sufficient primitive peasant economy of China.

Apart from its ordinary budget of 2,867,000,000 yen Japan has prepared for the fiscal year 1938-39 (which runs from April until April) a war budget of 4,850,000,000 yen (the yen is worth about 29 cents). Almost all this war budget, 4,400,000,000 yen, to be precise, is to be raised by floating "red-ink bonds," as loans to cover budget deficits are called in Japan. There is also a deficit estimate of about 700,000,000 yen in the ordinary budget. As over a billion yen out of bond issues of 2,500,000,000 yen which were appropriated for the war last year remain unissued it is quite possible that the Japanese Government will be obliged to borrow six billion yen, a staggering sum in relation to Japan's national income and resources.

Such borrowing would increase the national debt, which now stands at about 12,000,000,000 yen, by about fifty percent and would be equivalent to three times the normal revenue from taxation, state monopolies and other sources. It is small wonder that some Japanese privately confess apprehension as to whether such huge bond issues may prove indigestible and lead to serious inflation.

The list of war economies is long and growing. The quality of Japanese goods for the domestic market, shoddy at best, is being further lowered by substitutions and mixtures designed to save on foreign currency which is needed to pay for imported raw materials. Pure wool and cotton fabrics for instance, will soon be a thing of

the past, since it has been decreed that a certain percentage of staple fibre must be mixed with both wool and cotton. A large variety of foreign products, from toothpaste to liquors, have been struck off the roll of licensed imports.

The use of gold for ornaments has been forbidden. Silver and nickel currency is being replaced by paper and metal of baser quality. A rationing system for gasoline is soon to go into effect. Various technical measures to save on rubber and leather have been put into effect. New building for which steel is required has virtually ceased. Any deposit of gold or copper that gives any promise of a yield is being vigorously combed over. The gold output of the Japanese Empire, which was 105,000,000 yen in 1935, rose to 138,500,000 yen in 1936 and to 192,000,000 yen in 1937. Optimists look forward to an annual production in Japan, Korea and Manchoukuo of half a billion yen worth of gold within the next few years.

What would be the effect of sanctions on Japan's economy? It all depends on whether the sanctions were weak or strong. Such voluntary boycotts of Japanese goods as are now in progress in the United States, in England and in some other countries will cause some reduction in Japan's export trade, will make it necessary to draw in the belt of import control and public deprivation a little tighter, but certainly will not arrest the continental march of the Japanese war machine.

"Strong" sanctions, involving forcible interference with Japan's foreign trade and perhaps a long range naval blockade, and idea that seems to have been toyed with in some high quarters, would almost certainly mean war, which, in the present stage of world affairs, could scarcely be confined to Japan and the sanctionist powers. One statement that can be made with a fair degree of assurance is that Japan will not back down before a mere threat of foreign naval and economic pressure. A Cabinet that consented to what would be regarded here as a surrender, i. e., a withdrawal of Japanese forces from China under the threat of boycott or blockade would, in all probability, be promptly machine-gunned out of existence.

Calibre of Opposition

(3) This leads up to a consideration of the third element in Japan's chances of success as an imperialist power: the amount of opposition to be antici-

pated from foreign powers. There are four such major powers which have, in one way or another, placed themselves on record as disapproving Japan's aggression in China. These are Great Britain, the Soviet Union, the United States and France.

France may be left out of the reckoning; its main interest in the Far East is its valuable colony, Indo-China, which is not at the moment in Japan's line of expansion and its pre-occupations in Europe are obvious. Great Britain stands to lose more than any other power by the establishment of Japanese hegemony in Central China. Relations between Japan and Great Britain have been strained since the beginning of hostilities. British public opinion has strongly condemned the Japanese advance into China. Belligere and communicative Japanese admirals have publicly discussed the ease with which Japan could take Hong Kong and denunciation of Great Britain as China's chief backer has become the stock-in-trade of the Japanese press.

However, singlehanded strong action by Great Britain in the Far East is quite unthinkable because of the European situation. What seems most probable is that British diplomacy will seek to salvage what can be saved out of the wreckage of British commercial interests in China and seek to bar the way to further Japanese southward advance by concentrating on the upbuilding of the powerful naval and air base at Singapore.

Relations between the Soviet Union and Japan are conspicuously bad. These two countries have been carrying on a competition in pinpricks and mutual aggravations almost unparalleled as between powers which maintain formal diplomatic relations. Espionage on each others' embassies, suspension of the exchange of military attaches, detention of ships, mutual refusal of entrance visas, border skirmishes—these are the commonplace amenities of Soviet-Japanese intercourse. Yet the balance of probability is against Soviet intervention in the Sino-Japanese conflict. Soviet airplanes and other munitions will be supplied to the Chinese for the purpose of protracting the struggle.

But Soviet ability to wage war successfully at the same time on European and Asiatic fronts which are some seven thousand miles apart is open to doubt and the European frontier is the vitally important one to the Soviet regime. Moreover, the recent wholesale executions and arrests of

highly placed generals, diplomats, Communist Party and Soviet functionaries do not indicate a state of internal morale conducive to foreign adventures. Japan, on its part, certainly has no reason to seek a quarrel with the Soviet Union, at least until its aims in China are realized.

There remains the United States. America is not, like Great Britain and the Soviet Union, held back by imminent danger from potential enemies nearer home. And three factors, taken together, make for a constant

So, although the possibility of foreign intervention before the end of the Sino-Japanese conflict certainly cannot be ruled out, Japan seems to stand a very fair chance of averting it, providing that it displays a reasonable measure of diplomatic astuteness and military self-restraint in its dealings with third powers.

"Imperial Destiny"

(4) The last question is whether Japan is qualified to fulfill an imperial



JUST IN CASE: Japan expects no invasion, but is taking elaborate precautions to guard against sudden attack, even to the extent of teaching young girls how to handle guns.

element of strain in Japanese-American relations. The first of these is the constant liability of incidents affecting American lives and property because of the number and variety of American enterprises in war zones and the recklessness which Japanese (and not only Japanese) troops often display in moments of victory. The second is the belief held by many influential individuals in American public life in what they call the reign of law in international affairs and what Japanese and other expansionist peoples prefer to call the maintenance of the *status quo* for the benefit of powers which are sated with colonial possessions and natural resources. Third is the virtually unanimous dislike in America for what Japan is doing in China, a dislike compounded of elements as diverse as moral indignation at the invasion of a weak country by a strong one and mere national and racial dislike.

destiny, to take up the "burden" which Japan's Pan-Asian enthusiasts see as already slipping from the white races. Some empire-building qualities the Japanese do possess. They are hard-working, persevering, far superior to other Oriental peoples in capacity for commercial and industrial organization, as in military and naval power. Korea and Formosa do not compare unfavorably with many Western colonial possessions in efficiency of administrations and exploitation.

On the other hand, it is a familiar observation that Japanese in the colonies are apt to be much less pleasant than the Japanese at home. The sense of power over a subject people tends to make them aggressive, swaggering, dominating, to increase noticeably the tendency toward bureaucracy that is quite marked in Japan itself.

This is not a good omen for success in those regions of China where the Japanese wish to create not so

much colonies as protectorates, leaving the details of administration in Chinese hands. Already in North China one can see a tendency, against the advice of those Japanese who take a more long range view of the situation, to annoy the Chinese needlessly by interfering in small matters where there is a difference between the Japanese and the Chinese ways of doing things. Moreover, Japan is a comparatively poor country and empire-building is expensive. One symptom of distress is the turning over of the heavy industries in Manchoukuo to a powerful Japanese capitalist concern,

the Japan Iron Industry, whose President, Mr. Y. Ayukawa, has openly expressed himself in favor of inviting foreign capital to assist the development of the country. Prominent Japanese businessmen advocate the same idea in regard to North China.

But, whether the white man's burden proves ultimately too heavy or not, there can be no question as to Japan's intention to assume it. Twice in the history of modern Japan were there retreats from continental conquests. Under the pressure of joint representations by Germany, France and Russia Japan gave back to China the Liao-

tung Peninsula after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. And American pressure of a milder kind, combined with a postwar growth of liberalism in Japan itself, helped to bring about a withdrawal from Siberia and Shantung after the Washington Naval Conference of 1921-1922. To-day there is not likely to be any turning back. Japan feels vastly stronger than she did in 1895 or in 1921 and she counts on the aid of her European friends, Germany and Italy, to parry any interference with her plans from that quarter.

War Prizes For Japan

By HARVEY WERTZ

ONE tenth of the world's population has come under the invader's sword in recent months. The rich and fertile plains of the Yangtze Delta are home to 200,000,000 Chinese, the last great bloc of cheap labor in the world.

Mulberry trees shoot silvery green leaves for the silk worms in February. The showers of April flood the paddy fields for the rice planting. In August, wheat, barley and millet are planted for harvest in November. Cotton is another cash crop easily transported to market over the hundreds of canals.

But fertile farms and cheap labor are not the only war prizes. Nanking, Soochow, Hangchow and Wuhu are important not only for their own wealth but because of the taxes they will yield. Nanking was the greatest city in the world long before the birth of Christ. Eight times it has been the capital of China. The tombs of the Mings and of Dr. Sun Yat Sen are here. This section is the China of modern highways, sanitary systems and water supply.

"Heaven above, Soochow and Hangchow below," is a saying of the Chinese which shows their love and respect for these two cities. Half the colleges of China are in the conquered area.

Cultured silk worms produce the finest white silk in the world on this plain. Marco Polo, jaded by his years of travel, found rest here and served as a lesser magistrate near Nanking. The population is patient, plodding at work from childhood to old age. And the citizen's nature is reflected in a favorite proverb: "It is a little thing to starve, it is serious to lose one's virtue."

Fifteen per cent of the area is swamp, lakes, canals or rivers. The simple huts of the farmers are built around brick ovens which hatch the silk worms. Chinese families live in the incubators. Eggs are stored in their homes and dipped in salt solutions in December, in mulberry tea in February. Between dippings the eggs are wrapped in fine paper and kept in stone jars.

The oven is stoked with cow dung and mulberry wood in December. Late in March the fuel is ignited and after the first smoke has cleared, it burns slowly without smoke or flame for a month. During this period of incubation the farmer puts the eggs in his bed on rising in the morn-

ing and covers them with his cotton padded clothing which he has worn through the day when he retires at night.

Not only body heat is transmitted to the eggs but also disease which the plodding farmer regards as regrettable but impossible of prevention. If the season is right the leaves of the mulberry are the size of the bowl of a tea spoon when they hatch between 8 and 10 p.m. on April 5 each year.

Thousands of worms must be fed, and the entire day of the farmer and his family is spent in cutting leaves so tiny the worms may eat them.

Disaster is upon the farmer if the supply of mulberry leaves fails as the silk worms are hatched. He may sit down and watch his worms die of starvation or he may pawn everything he owns in an effort to obtain money to buy the high priced leaves for his hungry army.

Suddenly with the spring floods, the rice season is with the farmer. He has three tools, a hoe, a wooden plow with an iron tip and a spade. His beast of burden is a water buffalo, which depends for its grazing on the grave mounds which dot the countryside.

The farmer's food is rice and pickled carrots, three meals a day. His family is large and hungry. This is the life of the farmer, the first prize in the war games today.

Salt duck is the principal export of Nanking although it is world renowned for its porcelains, damasks and brocades woven there. A million men, women and children live in Nanking behind the twenty-two miles of wall that held back the Tartar but fell before the Japanese artillery fire.

During the third, fourth and fifth centuries it was the capital of the nation. The Mings brought it back to prominence and in 1911 Dr. Sun Yat Sen established the nationalist government within its walls. Ten years ago a \$20,000,000 building program was launched. Parks, highways, a stadium were all built. The biggest refractory telescope in the Orient is here.

Minor prizes in the war games are the smaller cities and seaports, the 75 cotton mills, 45 silk mills, and a dozen large factories on the plains.

But the natives accept the invader with age old philosophy. Renting their boats and their homes to him, they say, "They are not good fists that fight, they are not good words that curse."

STATES GET TOGETHER

A "Cosgo" today operates in what has been described as a legislative "No Man's Land"

By MARC A. ROSE

ONE outstanding weakness in our system of government, as many profound students have pointed out, is the existence of a legal "No Man's Land," the area in which the Federal authority does not operate, and where no single State can act effectively. Lurking within the blurred boundaries of this region are many of the most vexatious problems of our day, ranging from flood control, power development and conservation to the efficient prevention of crime. Thoughtful men believe that the ultimate form of our government depends upon what power moves into this "No Man's Land."

President Roosevelt believes the alternatives are Federal occupation of the twilight zone or intolerable chaos, a return to "horse and buggy" days as he remarked with some bitterness upon one famous occasion. But if the Federal power is thus extended, in the opinion of so eminent a historian as James Truslow Adams, "that will lead almost certainly to the totalitarian state, which cannot be run except by a dictatorship in some form."

It sounds like a hard choice—chaos or dictatorship. But perhaps we need not face it, after all. For there is a third course which may lead to a sound solution—combined action by the States wherever their interests are common. For the first time in our history, workable machinery for continuous cooperation among the States has been created. Thirty-six States have set up permanent interstate cooperation commissions and clothed them with adequate official powers. Together, they form the Council of State Governments—"Cosgo" for short—which is relatively new but increasingly useful.

Typical of the field in which it operates is the Great Lakes fisheries problem. The Federal government has no authority over these fisheries, and no State can regulate fishing beyond its borders. Over-fishing has seriously depleted this great natural resource. Equipped with the deadliest mechanical gear they have been able to devise, the commercial fishermen have wiped out one valuable species after another.

Supply of the most famous of all Great Lakes species, the Lake Superior whitefish, has shrunk 65 per cent in five years. Lake Erie fishermen caught 21,500,000 pounds of ciscos, fresh water herring, in 1924; now it is no longer possible to catch them on a commercial basis.

For years, the States have held conferences among themselves attempting to work out an effective conservation program. To be precise, there had been 21 such meetings since 1883. Lacking practical machinery for cooperation, their efforts came to nothing.

A few weeks ago, the eight States affected got together again in Detroit—but with a difference. This time, the conferees were not men from civil life appointed by the Governors to do this one job. They were, instead, the permanent members of the interstate cooperation commissions. In other words, they were the legislators who will sponsor the projected uniform State laws and fight them through the legislatures, and the men who will administer the laws when they are passed. That is why it looks as if something really might be done, at last. Drafting of laws with teeth in them is now underway.

New Jersey set up the first interstate cooperation commission in 1935, winning the honor from Colorado by a few days. By the end of 1935, there were seven; by the end of 1936, seventeen; eighteen more States acted in 1937; one so far in 1938. The twelve remaining States are showing a lively interest; most of them are cooperating informally through committees, and in 1939, the odd-numbered year in which legislatures traditionally meet, the roll call will become virtually complete.

Organizational Setup

Commissions typically consist of five senators, five members of the lower house, and five administrative officials. A new interstate capitol building for their secretariat is nearing completion in Chicago—a sort of League of Nations palace for the States. "Heretofore," as someone remarked at a Cosgo meeting, "it has been easier for the United States to negotiate with

Siam than for two adjoining States to reach an agreement, just because there was no permanent machinery for such negotiations." Now the States have set up departments of foreign affairs. Often Cosgo meetings on specific problems have the cooperative advice of Federal authorities who are experts in the matters involved.

Most spectacular success of the interstate commissions has been in the field of crime. They have created a permanent body on crime with offices in Newark, New Jersey, which works with the Central Secretariat in Chicago. In the fall of 1935, it agreed upon a four-point program. In some haste, because the legislatures of several States were to meet in January, 1936, the commission called upon twenty-six law schools, from Harvard to California and from Michigan to Louisiana, for help. Professors met with the commission, submitted drafts, and from the combined drafts were modeled four statutes.

One of them gives officers in "fresh pursuit" of a criminal authority to ignore State lines—arms the New York State trooper with the same powers in New Jersey that he has at home, if he is not more than twenty-four hours behind his quarry. Twenty-two States have adopted that law within two years!

A second law simplifies, expedites and makes uniform the process of extradition. Eighteen States have adopted it. A third makes possible the extradition of material witnesses—a new and most important step which twenty-two States have taken. Fourth on the program is legislation whereby a State agrees to supervise the paroled convicts within its borders if they come from States which have similar laws, and twenty-one States have signed up to do that. Fifteen States have adopted all four laws; more will come along when legislatures meet again. Thus are the States, through their new machinery for cooperation, making it as easy for the law to reach across State lines as it always was for the criminal.

Possibly this movement was accelerated by the bewildering case in which a New York State trooper was kid-

napped and taken across New Jersey to Pennsylvania in a car with Michigan license plates driven by escaped convicts from Ohio who were believed to have held up a cashier in Philadelphia for \$60,000 the day before. To finish the story, part of the gang eventually shot it out with cops in New York City. Meanwhile, the brains, the Big Shot of the gang never left Ohio. He couldn't be touched; he was not a fugitive from Pennsylvania and he hadn't broken any law in Ohio. Under the model extradition act, he and the other necessary witnesses, could now be yanked across the line.

Rivers do not flow in accordance with State boundaries. A public impatient of the ineffectiveness of piecemeal effort is demanding flood control, water conservation, and the cleaning up of pollution. The result has been sharp conflict between the Federal government, which has been reaching out for control of interstate streams, and the States, which have sharply rapped the outstretching Federal knuckles.

Under the aegis of the Council of State Governments, Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and New York have set up the Interstate Commission on the Delaware River, "Incode," for short. The commission's ambition is to work out a comprehensive plan for the best use of the last great drinking water supply in the East that is not already fully exploited—with an eye, meanwhile, to flood control, recreation and industrial use. An aim less openly avowed is to forestall Federal control.

A technical staff is at work surveying, drawing plans. Cities in the four

States are considering supply projects which call for two billion gallons of water a day from the river, and will cost a half billion dollars. Engineers, as a result of preliminary studies, say that gravity water supply for New York City, northeastern New Jersey, Philadelphia and southeastern Pennsylvania can be developed at extremely low cost per gallon, and still maintain adequate flow at Trenton, New Jersey, head of tidewater. Moreover, the dams for water supply reservoirs will check floods.

Uniformity in Regulations

One important achievement already is the establishment of uniform standards of cleanliness and purity for the waters of the Delaware from the New York-Pennsylvania boundary to Trenton. A committee of Incodel, composed of the chief engineers of the health departments of the four States, set up the standards which are now in effect. New industrial plants must treat their wastes. Cities discharging sewage into the stream will build treatment plants according to a regular program.

A similar commission on the Ohio River has been formed and is just getting to work.

Conferences on the broad question of highway safety were held under Cosgo auspices in 1936, 1937 and 1938, attended mostly by officials from Eastern States. They are making considerable progress toward uniformity. New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania exchange reports on motor vehicle law violations. The conference has endorsed model

legislation calling for inspection of all motor vehicles at stated intervals, a process which in States that have adopted it has caused a great improvement in brakes, headlights and the like.

Not all the work of the interstate commissions is as grandiose as the Delaware River plan, or as spectacular as the war on crime.

The first interstate compact negotiated through Cosgo machinery merely set up a joint authority to operate Palisades Interstate Park which straddles a New York-New Jersey boundary and used to be plagued with political bickerings. The same two States have worked out an agreement on shad conservation in the Hudson river after about a century of squabbling. Fishermen in both States now will lift their nets for twenty-four hours each week during the season to let part of the schools escape upstream and spawn.

New York, Vermont, New Jersey and Pennsylvania have passed laws giving their fish wardens authority to make arrests across State lines in boundary lakes and streams.

Several States have adopted uniform regulations for labeling of liquor, its transportation across State borders, not for sale, and the sale of liquor warehouse receipts.

The social security laws have created new puzzles which are being studied by an interstate commission. Conforming to a program it has worked out, nine States have passed uniform legislation covering the migration of persons on relief, and regulating the establishment of domicile.

The Council of State Governments

The Declaration

The following is "The Declaration of Interdependence of the Governments within The United States of America," signed on January 22, 1937 by the representatives of States comprising the Council of State Governments:

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for a nation to repair the fabric which unites its many agencies of government, and to restore the solidarity which is vital to orderly growth, it is the duty of responsible officials to define the need and to find a way to meet it.

A way does not come of itself. The maintenance of just and efficient government is as intricate, as arduous, and as imperative as any human endeavor. One hundred and fifty years ago our forefathers faced their necessity and formed a new union. They found a way.

And from that beginning in 1787 sprang history's finest example of the democratic form of government—a government dedicated to the preservation of every man's endowment of life, liberty, and happiness.

Inevitable changes have come. The fundamental pattern of States, united for the benefit of all the people, remains the same as it was when the founding fathers wove it. But the far-flung tapestry of our many governments has stretched so taut that the fabric was weakened. . . .

Now, for the first time since that memorable day when the form of our Constitution was determined, official delegates of the States are gathered together with representatives of their central government and with representatives of their local governments, as good neighbors, seeking to revive the original purpose—"to form a more perfect union."

It was meant that the States, while creating a nation, should yet preserve their own sovereignties and a maximum of self-government. But now if the claim of States' rights is to prevail, it must be justified by a demonstration of States' competence. When our union was formed, there was no land transportation, nor any remote communication, except by the plodding foot of horse or man. But since that time, our society has been revolutionized by the advent of

grew out of one man's idea and has been carried to success by one man's perseverance. Henry W. Toll, Denver attorney, was elected to the Colorado Senate in 1923. His Harvard-trained legal mind, accustomed to orderliness and to the search for precedent, was shocked when he discovered that Colorado legislators had no shred of information about the experience of other States. When a question of motor vehicle regulation arose, nobody knew what other States had tried and found successful, or foolish.

He tells of a real estate lobby pushing a bill. "I don't think it will work," said a committee chairman. "Seventeen States have adopted this law, and it works fine," retorted the glib lobbyist. "Nobody could dispute him," Mr. Toll remarks. "Yet we should have known the facts as a matter of routine."

In 1925, he started issuing, at his own expense, a four-page pamphlet called "The American Legislator." Its theme was that lawmakers all over the country ought to have an association, like a bar association, through which they could exchange experience, get mutual assistance on problems, and raise lawmaking to professional standards.

He sent out a call for a meeting to be held in Denver in 1926 to organize the American Legislators' Association. He timed his meeting to coincide with the convention of the American Bar Association, and representatives of a dozen States met, agreed it was a good idea, and formed an organization. The Bar Association gave it a friendly word of approval. But it almost died in 1927.

Henry Toll sent notices to the 7,500 legislators of the country to meet in Buffalo. Five showed up—four reporters and a lobbyist.

Nevertheless, Mr. Toll kept plugging away, publishing his little paper and keeping up a voluminous correspondence. He believed in his idea and was well able to afford the expense. In 1929, Senator George Woodward of Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania began to make contributions. Three other legislators gave some money. Next year came the big break: the Spelman Fund offered money and an office in Chicago. Chicago was chosen because of its central location and because of the obvious advantage of close association with the faculty of the University, intensely interested in Henry Toll's attempt to bring order out of interstate chaos.

The Legislators' Association took on life. It held important meetings in 1932; its members began to keep a reference bureau exceedingly busy at headquarters; it called a highly successful interstate assembly in Washington in 1933, as a result of which a permanent commission was set up which is still at work with the Federal officials on knotty problems of conflicting taxation.

It was rapidly becoming apparent that not only the legislators needed this machinery for cooperation, but other departments of State government as well. That is what led to the organization of the Council of State Governments in 1935. The New Deal, with its steady pressure for centralization of powers, undoubtedly has given impetus to the movement. There is much jus-

tice in the assertion that the States have failed in many respects to do a good job. Some better means of getting things done had to be found, or no one could justly say much against Federal assumption of power. That is why thirty-six States have joined up in three years, and why the rest are waiting in line.

First president of Cosgo was Governor John G. Winant of New Hampshire; the second was Governor Paul V. McNutt of Indiana; the third is Governor R. L. Cochran of Nebraska. The Council works closely with the Governors' Conference, but is not formally linked to it. The Council is a joint governmental agency; the Governors' Conference is purely unofficial.

The real test of the new machinery will come when the Council of State Governments leaves such non-controversial matters as crime control and takes the offensive in matters where there is serious economic rivalry, and where big business interests haul legislatures this way and that. The Great Lakes fisheries case, be it noted, is something of a test. For fifty years, the commercial interests have been able to play one State against another so skillfully as to abort all efforts to cut down the intensity of fishing.

Yet, to quote James Truslow Adams again, this "is the only way of preserving democratic institutions and the freedom of the spirit. No work being done today in America is of more vital importance than that being done for State cooperation. The public does not hear much of it, but it should hear a great deal more."

of Interdependence

transportation as swift as the wind and of communication more rapid than lightning. Our area has trebled. The number of our people has increased beyond belief.

How have our governments met their mutual problems brought by this modern era?

They have developed a "No Man's Land" of jurisdiction.

In thousands of instances their laws are in conflict, their practices are discordant, their regulations are antagonistic, and their policies are either competitive or repugnant to one another.

In taxation alone, scores of conflicts between Federal and State laws exist.

The interstate criminal is a standing headline on Page One of every newspaper.

The forty-eight States pass laws on crime, labor, taxation, relief, corporations, parole, domestic relations and other questions momentous to our social and economic system, with no thought of harmony. And this discord has been further stitched into our pattern of life by all other

agencies possessing the power of legislation.

This is not as it should be.

The trend of Federal-State projects, exemplified by social security, demands immediate action if those projects are to succeed completely. . .

Through established agencies of cooperation, through uniform and reciprocal laws and regulations, through compacts under the Constitution, through informal collaboration, and through all other means possible, our nation, our States and our localities must fuse their activities with a new fervor of national unity.

We, therefore as representatives of the officers of government here assembled, do solemnly pledge our loyal efforts to the accomplishment of such purposes.

As our forefathers by the Declaration of Independence affirmed their purpose to improve government for us, so do we by this Declaration of Interdependence affirm our purpose to improve government for our contemporaries and for our posterity.

AUSTRIA: POST MORTEM

*When a divorcee remarries her former husband
it is assumed she could not live without him*

By ROBERT STRAUSS-HUPÉ

POST-WAR Austria could not live alone. If exist she could Hitler might have never become the power he is today, and could not have imposed his will on a people with a proud independent history. This is the truth behind the success of German pressure-politics in Austria, the truth behind the uneven match of Hitler versus Schuschnigg, and behind the world's acquiescence to what now seems, but was not, inevitable.

The Congress of Vienna, convened in 1813 to liquidate the Napoleonic wars, left Europe a jig-saw puzzle gone awry. A shapeless conglomeration of states spread their multicolored territories over the map of Europe—from big Austria and Prussia down to the minute principalities of the Offenbach oprettas.

It took sixty years of ceaseless effervescence, the profound economic repercussions of the Industrial Revolution, and four major wars to correct the glaring absurdities of the Vienna settlement. From the torment of two generations rose at last a new order, with nations capable of developing the greatest and most widely shared prosperity Europe had ever known. The milestones on this European path to order were: the creation of the German Empire, the unification of Italy under the crown of Savoy, and the Austrian Empire's withdrawal from the struggles for European hegemony, from Germanic rivalry and precarious conquests in Italy. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy—at last a true Danubian power—turned to the development of its own vast resources. The new order so established gave Europe what she never had had before: forty-five years of peace on her soil.

It was the strain of economic forces—latent but hardly recognized at the beginning of this Golden Era—which undermined the edifice that the nation-builders had erected. The system of European balances could not survive five years of general conflict for which nineteenth-century statesmanship had bequeathed neither the rules of conduct nor the methods of reconciliation. The victorious Allies of the World War

reverted to the hallowed procedure adopted by the joint victors over Napoleon: a congress with the most comprehensive participation, dominated by the powerful few, propounding a new principle of European settlement, viz.: the right of national self-determination. The comprehensive wisdom of the conferees of 1919 and the exigencies of the two great powers who controlled the proceedings are compressed in the documents designated as the peace treaties of Versailles, of St. Germain and of Trianon. Out of the maze of opportunism, confusion, and sheer ignorance in which peace-making lost its ultimate objective, emerged the four major anachorisms of Europe's new political geography: the demilitarised Rhine-land Zone, the Polish Corridor, the reduction of Hungary to one third of its pre-war territory and population, and Little Austria appended to Greater Vienna. The absurdity of the first on grounds of national sovereignty, the absurdity of the second on grounds of elementary common sense fades into insignificance before the arbitrary operation which severed Austria from the community of the Danubian peoples. Her life had been conditioned since time immemorial on her co-existence with these peoples. The new nation-builders placidly decreed divorce. The Danube Monarchy of which Bismarck said, that it would have to be invented if it did not exist, lay safely buried in new Austria's narrow corner.

Slow Starvation

Post-war Austria: in the main a picturesque and sparsely populated Alpine landscape; and near the western border, metropolitan Vienna sheltering nearly one-third of the country's total population of six million. This city, lately the economic and administrative nerve center of a realm comprising fifty-six million people, sprawls at the foot-hills of the Alps—a stranded whale, from which the tides had receded. Once the market place of a vast economy, well balanced between industry and agriculture, it lacked now the mere victuals to stave off slow starvation. Whatever chance Austria then

may have had to reopen the roads on which the rich trade of the Monarchy had travelled was lost in her neighbors' scramble for economic self-sufficiency. Tariff walls, incubator-bred national industries fostered by the hatreds of a new jingoism, rendered economic collaboration impossible.

The best the master minds who had remade the map of Europe could suggest was: that Austria should be given relief, access to the international capital markets, and the encouragement of tourist trade.

The first decade of the Austrian republic was, internally, a period of struggle for political control between the exponents of the proletarian city population and the leadership of the peasantry, predominantly catholic and monarchist. "Anschluss," notwithstanding the agitations of small cliques, presented little of a life issue in domestic political controversy. Austrians as a whole were not pro-German. The humiliation of 1866, when Prussia had invaded and defeated Austria, still rankled the older generation. Five years of war-time association with the German brother-in-arms had alienated Austrian sentiment. German overbearing had wounded Austrian pride, and the brusque disregard of the German military for Austrian susceptibilities had, by the end of the war, bred a deep and scarcely disguised resentment.

Hope and Despair

Post-war Austria turned hopefully to its enemies of yesterday, to France and England, for friendly assistance in its plight. Even before the war, Vienna had been the home of a sectarian pan-Germanism. Its appeal in those care-free days seemed not more formidable than the gospel of anti-Semitism, also elaborated in Vienna, and destined to lend irresistible appeal to the repertory of Adolf Hitler. But up to the early 1930's the pan-Germans had an even smaller following among the Austrian people than had the Jew Baiters. Austria, terribly weakened by the war and facing the new problems of economic rehabilitation, had little taste for extremist movements which would have

gesture of an embattled League of Nations—drove Italy into the arms of her one willing provider, Germany. Italy bought German support at the price of Austria, and relinquished her guard over Austrian independence at the Brenner Pass. German-shipped raw materials rolled into Italy over the ancient Alpine high-road, and helped Mussolini to outstare the British Navy in the Mediterranean.

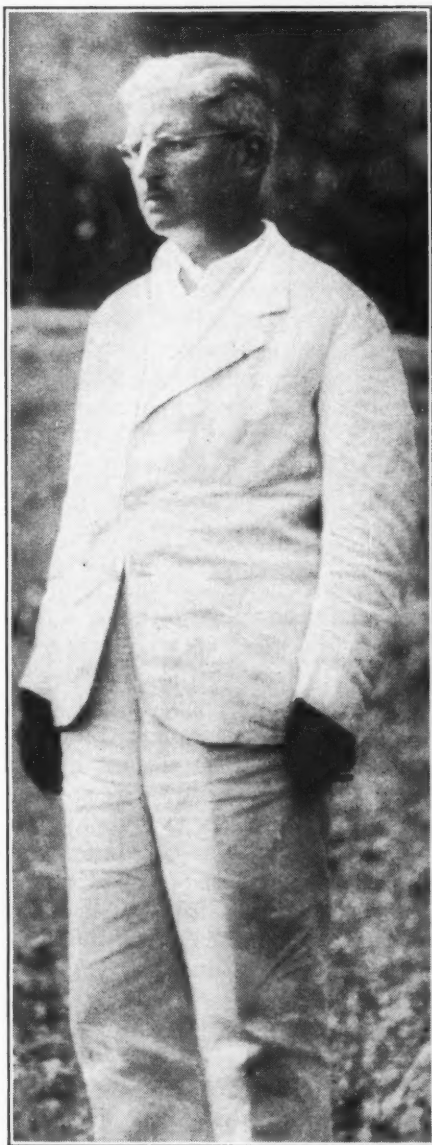
London and Paris, aware that any German-Italian understanding could not have been concluded except at Austria's expense, grew alarmed. Czechoslovakia, having missed few opportunities to remind Austria how low she had fallen, decided at last that her one free bridge to western Europe was worth saving. M. Hodza, the Czech Premier, offered, with warmth and twenty years too late, a plan of economic collaboration. Distinguished Englishmen and Frenchmen visited Vienna, and, having spoken encouraging words, repaired to the improbable but natural stage-settings of the Salzburg Festival.

Diplomatic Time Table

Six months before the dramatic Berchtesgaden interview, the powers which moved the marionettes on Austria's political stage had agreed on the schedule of events. Semi-private Monarchist rallies, and the sedate demonstrations of the Fatherland Front still diverted the public from the denouement of the plot. Schuschnigg's visit to Berchtesgaden precipitated the crisis. It is not surprising that he complied with peremptory convocation before der Fuehrer's judgment seat. Surprising it is that he dared delay the showdown so much longer than Herr Hitler's truculent impatience made advisable for the successor of the Nazi-murdered Dollfuss. That the decks had been cleared for German action was known to European political insiders for months, and the dramatic staging of the final move acquired its quality of lightning suddenness only in the press reports. M. Chautemps, the French Premier, had overthrown his own cabinet on January 14th, and was publicly warned from the opposition benches in the Chamber that Hitler would profit from the common failing of politicians to mistake defense of party interest for defense of the realm, and would pocket Austria. In February, France indulged in her second cabinet-crisis and Hitler promptly struck—as predicted. Hitler's timing, designed to offset the disturbing features of his

army purge, probably advanced the date by several months, but the issue had been settled not later than in early fall. It is safe to assume that Rome had been apprised of the project before Mussolini's pilgrimage to Berlin and to Krupp's armament plants.

Hitler's English sympathizers had prepared the ground for a change of



NAZI PROTAGONIST: When given an opportunity to flee Vienna before the Nazi invasion, Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg said: "My conscience is clear. I prefer to face my accusers."

Britain's foreign policy, necessary to leave Herr Hitler in the undisturbed enjoyment of his Austrian gains. The Press Lords, Rothermere and Beaverbrook, masters of more than a third of England's daily newspaper circulation, had long shared Herr Hitler's confidence. Empire isolationist, anti-communist, and as pro-fascist as its public will stand for, this section of the English press had barked viciously at Mr. Eden's pro-League policies. Trusted

emissaries had kept in close touch with Hitler's entourage, and the mighty makers of English public opinion were ready to see Central Europe in the Berchtesgaden perspective. The nature of this understanding—and an understanding it was, notwithstanding the comprehensible anxiety of principals and intermediaries to divert the attention of a bewildered public—reveals itself only in the skillful co-ordination of determined drives for several but related objectives.

Dressing the Dummy

The Press Lords arrayed Hitler in the shining armour of Europe's defender against the abominations of Moscow, and denounced Mr. Eden as the peevish boy who had kept staunch but peaceable Mussolini sulking in the corner. Turning their critical attention to national defense they voiced concern. British rearmament—to which every likely and unlikely plant in England had contributed at full blast for two years—appeared sufficient to deal with some Asiatic emergency, but lamentably inadequate to check the trespasses of European dictators. France, armed to the teeth and returning to the traditional middle-road of her domestic politics, was painted "red" and deemed an untrustworthy ally in an eventual pinch. In short: England could not afford a show of strength.

When Hitler moved, the combined persuasiveness of England's most powerful news-organs could be relied upon to make the second Ethiopia on the Danube palatable to the public. The London Times, so long highly critical of Hitler's Germany, swung into line. Having, in its inimitable style, deplored Nazi inhumanities and overbearing, it now advised its readers that Hitler's interference in Austria's domestic affairs presented no cause for British indignation. Official England looked on with mute detachment while "the German dictator laid his heavy hand on a small but historic country," as Mr. Winston Churchill expressed it with his fine feeling for accuracy and style.

Why England should now choose a course so obviously in contradiction with the recent utterances of her leading statesmen has been stated by M. Chamberlain at length. His case, which can be reduced with brevity to Britain's determination to avoid a clash with Germany and Italy at all costs, cannot be but of faint interest to the friends of Austria. British foreign policy retreated from Central Europe as

AUSTRIA

The Austria of today is a mere remnant of the former Austrian Empire. It is about the size of the four New England States of Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut. In the pre-war days of Emperor Francis Joseph of the Habsburg dynasty the Austro-Hungarian Empire had 261,259 square miles and a population of 51,000,000. And it was the assassination of the heir presumptive to the Austrian throne, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, by a Serbian at Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, that precipitated the World War. On Nov. 12, 1918 the victorious World War allies proclaimed Austria a republic. From that day until the present Austria, greatly reduced in size and population, suffered an economic plight equalled by few countries in world history. Of Austria's 6,760,000 inhabitants some 6,100,000 are Roman Catholics, with 300,000 Protestants, and 190,000 Jews.

antagonized those from whom she expected help.

At the close of the young republic's second decade international expert opinion agreed that the Austrian Nazis, wishing to merge a national independence of a thousand years into German sovereignty, would have carried a popular referendum. Notwithstanding contradictory press reports, Chancellor Schuschnigg's refusal, after the Berchtesgaden interview, to test pro-German sentiment at the polls permits, by inference, a guess at the Austrian Nazis' numerical strength, and his belated plans for a plebiscite which never came off. By imposing an age limit of 24 years to voters on the issue of Austrian liberty, the Chancellor merely confirmed what everybody knew: the strength of the Nazi movement resides in the post-war generation.

Attempting to explore the causes which wrought this change, it is necessary to reiterate the introductory statement that Austria could not live alone, and that the overwhelming majority of her people believed that she must break her economic isolation. The resurrection of the old community of the Danubian peoples, enlarged perhaps to comprise greater Rumania and greater Yugoslavia, or a union with Germany—only few Austrians could envisage any other alternative.

Insolvency

The world depression had dealt Europe's weakest economic unit a fierce blow. The failure of the Austrian Credit Institute, the Rothschild Bank in Vienna, threw Austria into financial panic. The neighbors, beset by their own troubles, throttled their trade with Austria still further, a trade which had not met Austria's wants even in the preceding period of prosperity. The repercussions of the Austrian insolvency

were felt in the great financial centers of the West, unpleasant reminders that the Austrian problem still remained unsolved. Austria's economic ills had suddenly become acute, and threatened to affect the healthier organisms of other nations.

But Austria dragged herself from the depth of the economic pit in 1931, on to brave recovery in 1934, and on to the diplomatic intermezzo of Stresa. At Stresa, England, France and Italy solemnly affirmed the inviolability of Austrian independence. Not only the great western powers but also Italy—her Abyssinian project still a half-secret shared by every leading European statesman—insisted categorically on Austria remaining her own, if impotent, master. A conference to bring the Danubian states together later in the year—preferably at Rome—was proposed. The proposal, vague from the start, was allowed to fade before the ominous gusts of the Ethiopian crisis.

But the Austrian people, who had gone stoically through the privations of the war and had managed to smile at the humiliations of their miserable peace, began to show signs of restiveness. The resurgence of Germany under a new leader, an Austrian himself, invited comparison with their own lot. Austrians saw that the victors could be defied, that sheer vitality could cut across the frozen legality of treaties. National Socialism held the promise of reversing the harsh sentence imposed by the peace-makers of 1919 and Austrians reached out for this promise as their last chance of survival. Beyond this promise, the creed of Nazidom mattered little; its social and radical theories did not ruffle Austrian minds unduly. Pan-Germanism was still nothing but the postulate of a small and rather unpopular group. Anti-Semitism, an old gadget of local politics, did not

yet sweep an easygoing, broad-minded people into organized mass psychosis. The church, and the cosmopolitan tolerance of a mellow civilisation held the race fanatics in check. Austrians had lived for centuries with other races in happy promiscuity, and the doctrine of race purity appealed little to a people reared in the close community of the twenty odd distinct racial strains gathered under the Habsburg eagle.

But Austrians wanted to live. The Western Powers offered advice, ephemeral relief, and liberal tips of their tourist trade so long as Austria promised to remain picturesque. Hitler, however, offered an example of solid achievement. This and nothing else made Austrians go Nazi at the outset. National Socialism as a concept of human existence within the totalitarian state captured the Austrian people's imagination only much later, and never completely at that.

Murder in Vienna

The history of Austria's internal politics cannot be written on these pages; suffice that they were conditioned by her economic plight, and by the degree of pressure brought to bear on Austrian leadership from abroad. When Chancellor Dollfuss had battered down the strongholds of Austrian socialism in 1934, the Berlin propaganda experts drove their wedge into ranks divided by civic conflict. The working class, disappointed by the defeat of proletarian leadership, provided malleable material. The impoverished middle-class, here as in Germany, succumbed to the fatal attractions of the half-baked, pseudo-scientific doctrine of race and state, propounded by the Goebbels and Rosenbergs. Fresh recruits flocked to National Socialism by the thousands, and Herr Hitler committed the only major blunder of his foreign policy. Nazi conspirators, openly encouraged by Berlin, struck at the heart of Vienna, and Chancellor Dollfuss perished. The authorities, confused and horrified at first by gangster methods heretofore not practised in Austria, quickly recovered from the shock and jailed the assassins. The Nazi coup failed to rouse the country, and fizzled out in the police courts. Austria may then have been pro-German, but enthusiastically pro-Nazi it was surely not.

And yet the balance swung inexorably to the German leader. Mussolini's Mediterranean adventures diffused Italian fighting strength over the shores of Africa and Spain. International sanctions—the last noble and futile

it retreated from long held positions in Africa and Spain. That the annexation of Austria settles nothing as regards Germany's needs for raw materials and that it can't appease Germany's appetite for colonial possessions are issues left to be dealt with by future improvisations. The episode in which Austrian independence was lost has gained for Great Britain the respite of postponement.

Austria was left alone to defend her political independence. Hitler won the first round—by conversation. Austria now hesitated two weeks before the final surrender to a powerful opponent. Austrians recognize the divided blessings of a Union with Germany. Of late, Austrian export-trade has experienced difficulties in obtaining payment for goods shipped to Germany. Foreign trade has shifted noticeably to more solvent countries. Having maintained

a fairly free currency exchange, Austria pondered the dubious privilege of entering a closed economy and its cage of restrictive regulations. The lusty tourist trade feared that thrifty German excursionists would not compensate for the loss of a more sophisticated international clientele and its ready currencies. Practicing Catholics and the powerful clergy courageously resisted the invasion of a creed which tolerates none but its own living prophet, and the workers, crushed by Dollfuss, now feebly rallied behind Schuschnigg, whom they hated. The odds, however, were not favorable for Austrian independence, and a second Nazi push could be resisted no better than the first. The past—burdened with the mistakes of those who created the country that cannot live—tipped the scale in Herr Hitler's favor. The government, which had depended more on foreign support,

and its skill in offsetting German with Italian power-politics, than on the loyalty of the people, collapsed ingloriously. Herr Hitler, faithful to the text of his famous tract, "Mein Kampf" restored Austria to her medieval status of "Ostmark", the realm's Eastern bulwark against the barbarous Slav world, and strategic base to Eastern conquest.

Austria recedes into the twilight of history to share in the destiny of her new masters. But beyond Austria lies Hungary. Independent Hungary stands guard over the richest plains of the Danube Basin, over the roads to the Black Sea, to the granaries and the mineral wealth of Rumania. Hungary remains the last nation around which the Danubian peoples could rally, the last pivot on which their common front could swing into a stand for economic plenty and against the determined Germanic push.

J. Stalin & Co., Executioners

By ALEXANDER BAKSHY

Gratskiye!

THE list of Soviet leaders denounced by the Stalin Government as foreign spies, traitors, and enemies of the people, and "liquidated" in one way or another, grows steadily in number. The significant fact about this liquidation, aside from the question whether the charges brought against the opponents of Stalin are true or not, is the actual elimination from the Soviet political scene of the majority of old Bolshevik leaders who figured most prominently in the overthrow of the Kerensky Government and in the establishment of the Soviet regime.

This change in the personnel of Soviet leadership becomes apparent upon examination of the membership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party during the first few years of the Bolshevik rule.

The Bolshevik coup was decided upon at the Sixth Congress of the party, held in August, 1917. The same congress elected the Central Committee consisting of the following:

Lenin	Nogin	Kollontay	Sokolnikov
Kamenev	Rykov	Artem-Sergheyev	Smilga
Trotsky	Bukharin	Krestinsky	Shauman
Stalin	Bubnov	Dzerjinsky	Bersin
Zinoviev	Uritsky	Joffe	Stasova, candidate
Sverdlov	Milyutin	Muranov	Lomov, candidate

Of these Lenin, Sverdlov, Nogin, Artem-Sergheyev and Dzerjinsky died of natural causes; Uritsky was assassinated by a White counter-revolutionary; Joffe committed suicide as a protest against Stalin's repression of his opponents; Trotsky has been exiled by Stalin; Sokolnikov has been sentenced to a long term of imprisonment; and Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov, Bukharin, and Krestinsky have been executed. Of the remaining nine members, excluding Stalin, Mme. Kollontay is the only one to hold a position of some prominence, as an ambassador to Sweden.

The list of the actual organizers of the revolution is even more revealing. On October 23, 1917, on the eve of the

uprising, the Central Committee set up two sub-committees, called the Political Bureau, and the Military-Revolutionary Center, to take charge of the operations for the establishment of a Soviet government. The membership of these two sub-committees was as follows:

In the Political Bureau—Lenin, Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotsky, Bubnov, and Sokolnikov.

In the Military-Revolutionary Center—Stalin, Sverdlov, Bubnov, Dzerjinsky, and Uritsky.

Of the first seven Stalin is the only one to hold power today; Lenin is dead; Bubnov is in eclipse, and the other four have been effectively eliminated from the political scene.

Of the second five, Stalin and Bubnov are the only survivors, the other three having died before Stalin came to power.

A subsidiary of the Military-Revolutionary Center was organized in Moscow at the same time as the two sub-committees, consisted of 17 members. Of these not one holds a ranking position today, and two—Muralov and Rozengoltz—have been executed in connection with the recent trials.

Lenin died in the early part of 1924. In the light of the subsequent events the membership of the Central Committee elected at the congress is highly illuminating. We quote the list:

Andreyev, Bukharin (*executed*), Voroshilov, Dzerjinsky (*dead*), Yevdokimov (*executed*), Zelensky (*executed*), Zinoviev (*executed*), Zalutsky, Kalinin, Kubik, Kirov (*assassinated*), Korotkov, Komarov, Kviring, Kamenev (*executed*), Lenin (*dead*), Lashevich, Manuilsky, Molotov, Mikoyan, Mikhailov, Orjonikidze (*dead*), Petrovsky, Pyatakov (*executed*), Rudzutak (*awaiting trial*), Rykov (*executed*), Radek (*imprisoned*), Rakovsky (*imprisoned*), Stalin, Sulimov, Sokolnikov (*imprisoned*), Smirnov (*executed*), Tomsy (*suicide*), Trotsky (*exiled*), Uglanov, Ukhanov, Frunze (*dead*), Kharitonov, Chubar Tsurupa.

*Kamenev gave the Kerensky
Zinoviev gave the date of
the revolution old Bolsheviks? No!*

1001 Embezzlers

WHILE it is estimated that employers in the United States lose \$200,000,000 yearly through employee dishonesty, yet by choice and by inclination the majority of employees are honest.

Dishonesty, being as old as humanity, is no more a phenomenon of the present times than are the other violations of the Ten Commandments, nor is the embezzler peculiar to any one city, climate, or business. He is usually not of the criminal type. In general, he has held a position of some trust and responsibility and has enjoyed a good reputation.

Your typical embezzler belongs in the white-collar class. He is thirty-six years old. He is married. He has a wife and two children. He is not psychopathic or of feeble mind, nor does he live in a neighborhood where crime is widespread. His upbringing has been good. He is not the lowest paid person in his employer's organization, nor is he the highest. His friends and very often his wife imagine that his salary is \$300.00 a month or more, but it is nearer \$175.00 a month. He has a high school education. He lives comfortably. He has a medium priced automobile, last year's model, on which a balance is still owing. His traveling has been confined to occasional week-ends and a two-week vacation in the summer. He is a good mixer. He participates in social and community affairs. He enjoys a good time. He likes a drink, but he rarely takes it during business hours.

He lives in every state in the Union, in every province of Canada, in large cities, in small cities. He is employed in every type of business. He is competent and smart. He has held his position for five and a half years. His employer regards him favorably and he has honestly earned the position of trust to which he has attained. In short, so far as his past record is concerned, he is a regular fellow, a normal individual with a better than average business reputation and future.

... Yet he becomes an embezzler.

Your typical embezzler is often overtaken by domestic troubles which lead him to spend beyond his means. He may have a spendthrift or nagging or invalid wife. He may have ailing children or an ambitious family whose demands cannot be met by his income. His family may feel that it has to "keep up with the Jones'." His sons or daughters may have become pressing social or financial problems. His wife may be unfaithful or he himself may fall victim to a consuming infatuation for another woman, which will cause him to spend recklessly.

On the other hand, he may succumb to an over-indulgence in liquor—to gambling or speculation, "dipping into the till" or "kiting" his accounts to satisfy his thirst or recoup his losses. In ninety-nine times out of one hundred he is "temporarily borrowing" and would indignantly deny that he is a thief.

Frequently, an unexpected emergency, created by death, sickness, or personal financial loss—he claims as the cause for committing his first but fatal defalcation. He meant to borrow only until the next pay day. After which he may continue for a long period, hoping that some fortuitous circumstance will extricate him from his trouble. When, finally, he finds himself hopelessly involved, your typical embezzler is much more likely to commit suicide or break down and confess than he is to abscond. If he does abscond, however, it is usually "with the other woman."

When brought to book he has little or none of the property or money which he embezzled.

Of all the men 798, or 83 per cent, were married. Twenty were divorced or separated and four were widowers. Of the women, seventeen were single, one a divorcee and four were widows.

Eight hundred and twenty-six of the men—nearly 86 per cent—had dependents. The wives, children, parents and other relatives who were supported entirely or in part by these 826 exceeded 2,000 persons. Eleven of the women had dependents.

The records show that most of these men and women, up to the time their embezzling began, lived normally and honestly. They had clean records in previous employment, as attested by the investigations which preceded their bonding. They had ability. In their previous positions they were subjected to temptation (assuming that every employee at some time is tempted) and resisted it.

They lived among and worked with honest people. They were regarded as honest by those around them, and their employers had no reason to mistrust them. They followed these habits of normal living and honesty well into middle life. They married and supported their families by honest work.

Certainly, on their records, these people are not of the criminal type. The typical criminal is unattached and anti-social, apt to be feeble-minded or pathological. His habits differ radically from the habits of these embezzlers. As a rule he doesn't associate with honest companions. He does not acquire the habit of living by honest means. He does not marry. And marital status is an important point in differentiating the typically criminal part of our population, for prison records show that those who are married are in the minority. When in prison, too, the difference between the embezzler and the typical criminal has been widely commented on. Embezzlers are model prisoners and are despised by professional criminals. Embezzlers do not usually become recidivists, as do ordinary criminals.

It seems fair to conclude from the facts assembled that men and women employees, up to the point where they "dip into the till," are honest. They do not consider that they are stealing. They do not take with the idea of ultimately absconding. Rather, they feel that they are borrowing, and intend to pay it back. When they take the money, they have a real or fancied need.

A number of typical situations were found to exist. One such is where an emergency creates an urgent need for the money. This plus the opportunity to embezzle proves irresistible. Another is based on debts which through misfortune, carelessness or perhaps petty gambling, have been permitted to accumulate, and the employee "borrows" his employer's money "until his luck changes." Still another is that where the employee contracts the habit of living beyond his means or acquires tastes which his salary does not permit. He then attempts to pay for his expensive tastes and habits on the instalment plan—using his employer as the financing agency.

While some criminal persons appear among the 1,001, their surprisingly small number only emphasizes the fact that the majority are, to begin with, people commonly classed as honest.

—A report on *1001 Embezzlers: A Study of Defalcations in Business*, prepared by the United States Fidelity and Guaranty Co., Baltimore.

TVA

**A nation-wide survey of newspapers shows
a keen interest in the factional dispute**

By BURT M. Mc CONNELL

GOVERNMENT ownership will be one of the major issues in the next Presidential campaign, "as a result of the fruitless attempt of the White House to smother the Tennessee Valley Authority scandal," predicts the *Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger*. "Political repercussions are almost certain to follow the action of President Roosevelt in removing Dr. Arthur E. Morgan as Chairman of the TVA Board of Directors," agrees Edwin W. Gableman, Washington correspondent of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*. In fact, unless the joint investigation by the House and Senate, now under way, proves without question that the President was justified in taking this drastic step to clear up the internal row in the TVA, Dr. Morgan's removal "may turn out to be a major issue in the forthcoming Congressional elections, particularly in the region of the Tennessee Valley," predicts this experienced Washington observer. Certainly, if newspaper editorials mould, as well as reflect, public opinion, there is deeper interest in the TVA situation than this writer has noted in any similar governmental probe since the Walsh inquiry into the Teapot Dome oil scandal.

To begin at the beginning, the TVA pot has been simmering for at least two years. The Act setting up the TVA envisaged use of Federal authority and funds and resources to foster "an orderly and proper physical, economic, and social development" of the great Tennessee River Valley. It was to be a modern extension of the conservation movement; it was to develop, restore, and preserve the Valley's natural resources. Soil conservation, reforestation, the generation and distribution of electrical power, the improvement of navigation on the Tennessee and its tributaries, and flood control on these streams and upon the Ohio and the Mississippi were the chief items on the program. To date, seven huge dams have been built or are in process of construction. Electric power is about to be produced in large volume. Markets for that power are open-

ing rapidly, and revenues from its sale will soon be flowing into the Treasury. Negotiations are under way for the purchase of some privately-owned distribution systems.

More than a hundred thousand farms in thirty-eight States are utilizing the new phosphate fertilizer made possible by the TVA. Important advances are being made in the control of land erosion. Co-operative enterprises among the farmers of the Valley are being set up. Seventeen municipalities and fourteen rural co-operatives are distributing TVA power. Some 2,500,000 tons of freight per year are being carried on the Tennessee River. About \$400,000,000 have been spent on the project. In the opinion of the *Youngstown Vindicator*, "it would be a tragedy if the mistakes already made and the controversy now raging about Dr. Morgan should wreck the sound principle which underlies the project or nullify the benefits which its proper administration can produce."

It seems to have been on the rock of administration that the TVA Board split. In the syndicated column of two Washington correspondents, Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner, we learn that "the fundamental issue of the present controversy is not the doings of any one TVA Director, but the President's method of handling the whole problem." First, we are told, Mr. Roosevelt permitted a quarrel among the three Directors—Dr. Morgan, David E. Lilienthal, and Dr. Harcourt A. Morgan—to continue for more than two years, "and then he tried to settle it by waving his personal wand. The result is an unholy mess." The chronological steps leading up to the ouster of the Chairman are thus summarized by the *Hartford Courant*:

"In the first of his open charges against his fellow-Directors on the Tennessee Valley Authority, Chairman A. E. Morgan demanded a joint Congressional investigation of the affairs of the TVA. For reasons best known to itself the Administration opposed that demand. Instead, the President constituted himself an investigating committee of one and summoned the three Directors to answer the Chair-

man's charges and the countercharges brought against him.

"At the first hearing, the Chairman refused to produce the evidence to support what he had earlier said was an 'attitude of conspiracy, secretiveness, and bureaucratic manipulation' on the part of his two colleagues. He held that his responsibility was to Congress, and that only an agent of that body was properly qualified to determine the truth or falsity of what he had said. His two colleagues denied the charges against them, and at considerable length elaborated on their countercharges against the Chairman.

"At the second hearing, the Chairman continued in his refusal to answer at a tribunal that, he maintained, had neither jurisdiction nor authority. He was found guilty by the President 'on the record as it stands today' of the charges brought against him by Dr. Harcourt Morgan and Mr. Lilienthal. He was given until Monday afternoon to submit answers; otherwise, the President declared, he would be guilty of 'contumacy,' which Webster's New International Dictionary defines as 'pertinacious resistance to authority.'"

Dr. Morgan thereupon left Washington for his home in Ohio, completely ignoring the Presidential ultimatum—and was promptly removed from office.

In the furore that has resulted from Dr. Morgan's refusal to testify before the President, "sight seems to have been lost of the important fact that it is the TVA, and not Dr. Morgan, who is the real defendant," we are reminded by the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*. "The administration of the TVA," it goes on, "is a matter of major public importance; the 'contumacy' of Dr. Morgan is not." However, there is no question but that the public interest will be served by the present Congressional inquiry, observes *The Evening Public Ledger* in a second editorial. The TVA, it reminds us, has been functioning for five years, "and there is much about its operation that the country has a right to know."

But a Congressional investigation is a long-drawn-out affair. For weeks we may expect to have additional charges reflecting upon the integrity of all three Directors; of sabotage; of irregularities in the adjustment of the Berry marble claims in Tennessee and the execution of certain power contracts. There will be witnesses, formal accusations, headlines, attendance by scores of newspapermen, photographers, newsreel men, broadcasters, commentators, and election-year oratory by Senators and Congressmen. "There will be little of that straight-line effectiveness which is the boast of executive action in the business world," thinks the *New Haven Journal-Courier*.

However, believes the *Omaha World Herald*:

"A thorough inquiry by a competent Congressional committee will clear the air. The country, we believe, has enough confidence in the integrity of Dr. Morgan to suppose that his charges are made in good faith. He must, therefore, be credited with a high degree of public spirit."

"It would have been easy for him, dissenting from TVA policies, to resign from the Board and let the majority have its way. He preferred to stand and fight. That meant accusations as an obstructionist, a Presidential reprimand for 'contumacy,' and dismissal. But in forcing an investigation, Dr. Morgan has performed a public service."

There are few correspondents who believe the Congressional inquiry will develop evidences of dishonesty or graft, says John R. Covert, of the *Philadelphia Bulletin's* Washington staff. He admits, however, that there may have been waste of money, slipshod methods of reaching objectives, and unwarranted use of funds on fads and fancies. According to the *Detroit News*:

"The controversy between the TVA Directors is so shot through with personal jealousies that it very nearly defies rational analysis. But underlying the mess there appears to be a real issue. Chairman Morgan thought TVA power should be distributed as far as possible through existing privately-owned facilities in the Tennessee Valley. The other two Directors were much more in favor of having the Government acquire these facilities and distribute the power itself."

As to President Roosevelt's right to oust Dr. Morgan, there is a division of opinion, not only in Washington, but throughout the country. Before taking this step, the President first ascertained from the Acting Attorney-General, Robert H. Jackson, that he had the power to act. The ground, as he expressed it, was that "efficient administrative management of government will be destroyed in short order" if subordinate officials have the power to defy the President (as Dr. Morgan did), when they are responsible to him. In this case, however, remarks the *Indianapolis News*, "there is a question whether Dr. Morgan was responsible to the President or to Congress." Continues this Hoosier paper:

"The Jackson opinion does not settle the legal doubt. Probably it can be cleared only by Congress. Senator Norris, author of the TVA Act, says it was his intention to keep the project, including control of the administrative board, free of opportunities for political interference. How he could have achieved this purpose without withholding from the President the right to remove members of the Board has not been explained."

Whatever justification the President may have had, the *Birmingham Age-Herald* finds it "difficult to see how his action will benefit the TVA, himself, or the public interest. On the contrary, there is the prospect of a long and bitter fight." There are, as usual, things to be said on both sides, concludes this Alabama paper.

Newspaper editorial writers handle without gloves the subject of Dr. Morgan's removal. "In effect, the President condemns a man who made serious charges against fellow-Directors, and acquits those against whom charges are made—both without an investigation," declares the *Los Angeles Times*. "Dr. Morgan," thinks this California daily, "had perfectly good and valid reasons for refusing to elaborate his charges in advance of their presentation to Congress, the only body with authority to act upon them. The President could not possibly investigate them adequately in the limited time at his disposal." Mr. Roosevelt, however, "preferred to attend to the matter in his own way, and now he must take the political and legal consequences," declares Arthur Krock, Washington correspondent of *The New York Times*.

The President, "by his high-handed methods, has convinced more and more Americans that there is something wrong in the TVA, and that his own efforts were largely in the direction of applying a coat of whitewash," asserts the *Boston Transcript*. In Ohio, the *Dayton Journal* thinks "Mr. Roosevelt should realize that the country at large does not consider him an impartial judge or investigator of the TVA affair; for years he has made political capital of his enmity for the utilities." And while we are on the subject of utilities, the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* asks for some enlightenment on "whether the TVA 'yardstick' is one which can be properly compared with the rates of private companies, in view of the subsidies which the TVA enjoys." In other words, asks this Virginia daily:

"Do TVA accounting methods reveal the true cost of generating and distributing current?"

"In addition, there is the apparently well-substantiated charge made by the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* in its thorough inquiry into the agency last year, that 'by far the greater part of the low-priced electricity sold by TVA thus far, in more than four years of operation, has gone to large corporations—utilities and industries—which have used it for private profit.' The Aluminum Company of America, controlled by the Mellons, was listed as the largest contract purchaser, with the Ar-

kansas Power and Light Company taking 40,000 kilowatts.

"There is likewise a controversy between the Comptroller General and TVA over the legality of more than \$10,000,000 worth of TVA expenditures. Charges also have been made of waste in the purchase of land for soil erosion and reforestation.

"These and other pertinent questions should be explored in the forthcoming inquiry. Until the results are in, final conclusions on the disputed points should, of course, be withheld."

It must be admitted, maintains the *Youngstown Vindicator*, that "the TVA has made the egregious blunder of sinking hundreds of millions of dollars in a method of producing power that is more expensive than steam power. In doing so, it threatens destruction of economical private power-producing facilities. Moreover, the TVA conceals its true costs by deceptive bookkeeping." Yet, it is remarked by a number of editorial writers, the TVA has been built with the funds of the American tax-payer. "If there has been mismanagement and extravagance, the public has a right to the facts," contends the *Minneapolis Journal*. The fact that the publicity resulting from Dr. Morgan's dismissal resulted in a Congressional inquiry is, to the *Springfield Union* "a tribute to the effectiveness of public sentiment." It would not be surprising, adds this Massachusetts daily, "if Mr. Roosevelt comes to regret his impetuous and ill-advised attempt to smother an investigation by Congress by discrediting Dr. Morgan." In another *Hartford Courant* editorial we are told that:

"Judicially considered, the President's whole course in the affair has nothing to commend it, and from a purely political point of view his performance gives added color to the oft-repeated charge that he wants to be the whole government.

"Having constituted himself prosecutor, judge, and jury, the President has now passed sentence on Dr. Morgan, and has inflicted the punishment of court dismissal. He adjudges Dr. Morgan guilty on three counts, which with the New Deal propensity for alphabetical designation he labels A, B, and C. The first is making 'grave and libelous charges of dishonesty and want of integrity against your fellow-Directors without reasonable excuse or justification.' The second is obstructing the work of the Tennessee Valley Authority. The third is 'refusing to submit to the demands of the Chief Executive for the facts' and refusing to 'respond to questions asked by the Chief Executive.'

"What the public wants, and what alone will satisfy it, is to have bared the whole story of this experiment in the Tennessee Valley, including, of course, everything pertaining to Senator Berry's submerged marble quarry."

This Berry business crops up frequently in editorials, so perhaps we

better have some enlightenment on the subject. According to the neighboring *Vicksburg Herald*:

"While the controversy between the directors of TVA has raged for months, the climax was not reached until the Berry marble claims were brought out into the open. Senator Berry charges he had an understanding with Dr. Harcourt Morgan and Lilienthal that the claim for the marble property which he and his associates owned, and which was inundated by the waters of Norris Dam, was to be settled by condemnation proceedings. He valued the property at several million dollars. Chairman Morgan charges that he knew nothing of the deal between the two Directors and Senator Berry and his associates.

"Chairman Morgan and a Federal investigating body of three say that the claim is 'valueless.' That was the finding of their investigation."

"Were the other Directors willing to pay a substantial sum for marble properties later found to be worthless?" asks the *Syracuse Post-Standard*. Facts of this kind, if they are facts, should be brought to light, avers this paper. "Not alone TVA, but Senator Berry needs investigation," believes the *Chicago Daily News*. According to the *Milwaukee Journal*, "the Berry claim was the cause of the open break between Dr. Arthur Morgan, on one side, and David Lilienthal and Dr. Harcourt Morgan, on the other."

Whether the President had the legal authority to remove Dr. Morgan from the TVA Board is still a matter of dispute. The Act setting up the TVA contains the following:

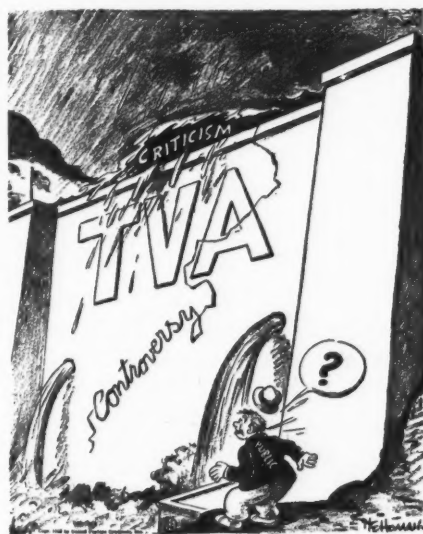
Any member of said Board may be removed from office at any time by a concurrent resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives."

It is true that the President proceeded against Dr. Morgan only after receiving assurance from the Acting Attorney-General that he was within the law. But, points out the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, "the Department of Justice can commonly be relied upon to give the President whatever opinion he wants where a controversial issue is concerned." In the opinion of this *Missouri daily*:

"The TVA is the creation of Congress, by specific act, and Congress has the explicit right to discharge any of its directors.

"Mr. Jackson denies that the Humphrey case is a controlling precedent and goes back to the Myers case, decided in 1926, in which the Supreme Court, by a vote of 6 to 3, upheld President Wilson's dismissal

of a Postmaster without the consent of the Senate. The difference, as Mr. Jackson points out, was that Myers was a purely executive officer, whereas Humphrey was a member of a Commission exercising quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial functions, independently of the Executive. Mr. Jackson contends that the TVA is not that kind of Commission, and that hence Morgan lacked the protection thrown around Humphrey. It is a nice legal question—whether the TVA is or is not in the same category as the Federal Trade Com-



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CRACKING UP?

mission—and can only be settled definitively if Dr. Morgan appeals to the Supreme Court."

Editorial writers generally agree that the basic question is whether the TVA Directors are responsible to Congress or to the Chief Executive. According to the *Topeka Capital*, there are only two sections of the Act which provide for the removal of Directors. The other section reads, in part:

"Any member of said Board who is found by the President of the United States to be guilty of a violation of this section shall be removed from office by the President of the United States, and any appointee of said Board who is found by the Board to be guilty of a violation of this section shall be removed from office by said Board."

"Dr. Arthur E. Morgan has not been accused of violating the section above quoted, so that it is not even claimed that he is being removed by the President for that reason.

"It is, we think, a well-established rule of law that where a specific method for the removal of certain public officials is provided for by statute, by inference if not by words, other methods of removal are precluded. For example, the Constitution provides for the removal of the President by impeachment and conviction. Nothing is said about any other method, but no law-

yer would claim that he could be removed in any other legal way."

The President's defenders, however, maintain that he does not fear a Congressional inquiry into the TVA; that he moved to make his own investigation of the charges and counter-charges chiefly to restore immediate harmony in the administration of the great project. As the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* puts it: "He was trying to force a showdown of the facts bearing on the Directors' differences. Failing, he dismissed the Director whom he holds responsible for that failure." When Chairman Morgan had undisputed power in an enterprise, he "bossed it well," notes the *Emporia Gazette*, "but when he was no longer absolute boss—merely one of three Directors—he seems to have gone to seed." The *Washington Post* charges Dr. Morgan with having adopted an "obstructionist attitude." "In refusing to answer questions put to him by the Chief Executive, to whom he owed his appointment and who has underlying responsibilities for the effective administration of all Federal agencies, Dr. Morgan laid himself open to deserved rebuke," adds the *Post*. In California, the *Sacramento Bee* maintains that "the conduct of Dr. Morgan was such as to make dismissal by the President obligatory. In fact, if Dr. Morgan had been less obstinate, he would have retired voluntarily from a position that he had made impossible."

"President Roosevelt has proved one thing in his removal of the TVA Chairman," notes the *Charlotte Observer*. "He has proved that a hireling can not defy the authority of the office of President of the United States, and get away with it." The *San Francisco Chronicle* also is of the opinion that "the President had a right to call the Chairman of TVA before him, and to question him."

In fact, declares Jay Franklin, in a syndicated Washington dispatch:

"It seemed clear that either Chairman Morgan had never read the TVA Act or that he did not understand it or the fact that Section 17 of that Act gives the President the power to investigate such charges as the chairman in fact made.

"The other Directors are quite ready to submit to any and all investigations by any competent Federal authority; Mr. Roosevelt is not blocking either a court action or a Congressional investigation; it is only Chairman Morgan who refuses to acknowledge the inherent authority of the Chief Executive or to obey the terms of the Act itself."

BALTIC BICKERINGS

*Lithuania ponders her fate as recent events
further complicate Europe's Baltic tangle*

By GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT

IT WAS last January that an "official spokesman" of the Nazi party in Germany took occasion to remark that "March will be a month of great events." The accuracy of this forecast may be laid to something else than a proficiency in clairvoyance, for the occurrences of an eventful March form, when examined together, a pattern of such interlocking precision that it is impossible to believe they were not the outgrowth of plans well and carefully laid over a period of months, with every possible contingency provided for as far as human prescience could foresee.

We are here concerned with but a single facet of this jewel of premeditated violence.

It was to be expected, of course, that a German occupation of Austria would produce the most painful apprehensions in Czechoslovakia, which has military alliances with France and Soviet Russia. It also might be anticipated that Prague would seek some reassurance from Paris and Moscow as to what support might be expected in case the flowing German tide rolled over the frontiers of Bohemia. The reaction of Paris was easy enough to guess; that of the Kremlin was not so easy, for the Soviet Union remains, in Europe as in Asia, the enigma of the North. But to the Nazi mentality, it was impossible to contemplate a state of affairs in which the hated Kremlin might utter certain threats—contingent though they might be on events yet to come to pass—without some palpable counter-move being well in hand to preserve German "prestige." Moreover the possibility of those threats being translated into action could not be ignored; against this, provision must be made.

A glance at the map of Europe makes it clear that Russia would have some difficulty in coming to the aid of Czechoslovakia. The frontiers of the two countries do not march. Only through Polish or Rumanian territory can Soviet armies reach Czechoslovakian soil, or indeed exercise direct pressure against Germany at all. Poland is in no mood to permit such a move; Rumania, whatever might be the attitude of her government, affords no contact

with Germany and only a long difficult line of approach through the Carpatho-Russian province of Czechoslovakia; a move by this route, lacking any direct rail communications, would be no serious menace to any German plan in Central Europe. The Soviet Navy in the Baltic is negligible as an offensive force. There remains the air. By air alone could Russian help to Czechoslovakia be swiftly effective. But here again the facts of geography intervene. Whatever the performance of individual long-range planes, the effective radius of action of large bombing formations carrying heavy bomb-loads and composed, not of a few of the newest and latest ships, but of planes of average effectiveness, is now considered to be about 500 miles—that is, 1000 miles of total flight, 500 out and 500 back to the base. On this basis, no part of Germany except East Prussia and the two eastward-reaching prongs of Pomerania and Silesia is within reach of Russian air operations; Berlin is comfortably beyond their range.

But there is, or was, to German eyes, a fly in this pleasant ointment. Russia has had for some time a non-aggression pact with Lithuania. There have been undenied press reports to the effect that this pact has secret military clauses, by which Russia guarantees Lithuania's territorial integrity in return for Lithuania's agreement to allow "Russian forces" to pass through Lithuanian territory in case of war. This is very interesting, on examination, because Russia has no common frontier with Lithuania any more than she has with Germany. Latvia and Poland intervene. Hence, unless it be assumed that the neutrality of one of these countries is to be violated by direct invasion, any Lithuanian agreement to permit the free passage of Russian forces can refer only to air forces. It need only be added that Berlin is within bombing range from the western half of Lithuania.

Events followed each other rapidly in this area, as the German invasion of Austria took place. Czechoslovakia made her expected appeal to Moscow. The Kremlin answered firmly, through

the Russian ambassadors at Paris and Prague: If Germany invades Czechoslovakia, Russia will come to the aid of her ally. Immediately thereafter, the Polish Foreign Minister, Colonel Beck, arrived at Warsaw from a visit to Rome and Berlin, and the world was startled by headlines announcing a Polish ultimatum to Lithuania, demanding an immediate opening of the frontier, resumption of diplomatic and commercial relations, and Lithuanian abandonment of that country's claim to the city and district of Vilna.

Controversy over a Capital

This requires some further explanation. The Lithuanian Constitution asserts that Vilna is the true capital of the nation; Kaunas is but the temporary seat of government. From the Lithuanian viewpoint, Vilna is merely in temporary, forcible military occupation by Poland—an occupation which was accomplished by the Polish General Zeligowski "unofficially" (on the D'Annunzio-Fiume model) in 1920, and was recognized by the Council of Ambassadors in 1923. From 1920 onwards Lithuania has kept the frontier closed, has refused to have any relations whatever with Poland, even extending to forbidding direct postal and telegraph service, and has kept alive the aspirations of her people for a return of "Lithuania irredenta": the province of Vilna. The last serious negotiations seeking to end this state of affairs took place in 1927. Now, suddenly, the question was reopened, not by ordinary diplomatic means, but by an ultimatum unpleasantly reminiscent of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia in the fateful summer of 1914.

The immediate occasion was the alleged killing of a Polish soldier by Lithuanian frontier guards, under circumstances entirely differently reported—as usual in such matters—from Warsaw and from Kaunas.

Polish troops moved swiftly toward the frontier. Invasion of Lithuania was threatened unless a favorable reply to the Polish demarche was received within 48 hours.

Britain, France and Russia pre-



THE GERMAN-SPEAKING PEOPLES OF EUROPE

Denmark	60,000	Hungary	600,000
Netherlands	80,000	Czechoslovakia	3,500,000
Belgium	150,000	Poland	1,350,000
Luxemburg	250,000	Danzig	360,000
France	1,700,000	Lithuania	131,000
Switzerland	2,860,000	Latvia	75,000
Italy	300,000	Soviet Russia	1,000,000
Yugoslavia	700,000	Rumania	800,000

tested, sought appeasement. One might reasonably suppose that Germany, too, would protest; for Germany has a very definite interest in Lithuania by reason of the fact that the little country's only seaport, Memel, was once German territory and has frequently been indicated by Nazi spokesmen, including der Fuehrer himself, as one of those Germanic regions whose "liberation" is

amongst the ultimate Nazi objectives. The "liberation" of Memel from tiny Lithuania would be one thing; from so powerful a nation as Poland it would be quite another. Berlin did make a feeble protest, probably for the record; and then came the disquieting report that the German protest had been withdrawn on Poland indicating that she would, by way of compensation for

being let alone in the matter of Lithuania, have no objection to a German occupation of the "Free City" of Danzig, a much more important bit of "Germania irredenta" than Memel.

Add to these several facts the unquestionable pro-German bias of Colonel Beck, and the picture becomes quite clear. The parts fit together perfectly. The Polish move on Lithuania,

LITHUANIA

LITHUANIA, formerly a Grand Duchy under the Russian Empire; proclaimed its independence in 1918. The claim was recognized by Russia in the Treaty of Peace signed in 1920.

In area, excluding the Vilna territory and including the Memel territory, Lithuania is slightly smaller than the state of West Virginia. This comparatively small European country is bounded on the north by Latvia, on the east by Poland and East Prussia and on the west by East Prussia and the Baltic Sea.

Although claimed by Lithuania, the Vilna territory has been annexed by Poland since October 9, 1920, when General Zeligowski occupied Vilna, the historic capital of Lithuania with 15,000 Polish troops. In 1923, the League of Nations awarded Vilna and its strip of territory, about 10,400 square miles, to Poland. Memel and its territory, about 853 square miles was detached from East Prussia, Germany, by the Treaty of Versailles and consigned to Lithuania.

sympathetically regarded if not inspired by Germany, is Hitler's reply to Moscow's threat of aid to Czechoslovakia. Russia's aerial stepping-stone toward Berlin is to be removed.

For the moment, Lithuania has yielded. But at the time this issue goes to press Polish troops are still on the frontier, and no final arrangements have been concluded between Kaunas and Warsaw. There are ominous rumors of increased Polish demands; day before yesterday Warsaw mobs rioted fiercely, shouting for complete occupation of Lithuania. In Lithuania there is fierce popular anger against the government for yielding without a fight, though a fight would be hopeless in face of the odds.

Even more ominous is the suggestion, now more definite than ever, that Poland is being drawn into the German orbit, that a third great nation is being added to the Rome-Berlin axis.

The Longer View

The Lithuanian imbroglio is a perfect instrument for effecting this purpose. It enables the Polish government, pro-German in bias as it is, to stifle the protests of the Peasant Party—which is anything but pro-German and is the strongest party in the country—by violent propaganda, by cries of "Restore the Empire of the Jagellons." It looks toward eventual elimination of the great cause of German-Polish dissension, the famous Polish Corridor which cuts off East Prussia from Germany, by providing Poland an outlet to the sea through Lithuania to Memel. This cannot be accomplished immediately, as press reports so hastily indicate. It requires the re-orientation of the whole railway system of Poland, now based on the new Polish port of Gdynia; but

it is easy to imagine German diplomats in Warsaw saying: "Not now, of course—but eventually this must be settled. Germany will never endure permanent separation from East Prussia. Would it not be better to take the long view, to work gradually toward a transfer of Polish commerce to Memel, than to face the certainty of war at some future time?"

As to the Polish attitude in the Russo-German differences, it is to be remembered that more Poles have suffered under Russian tyranny than under German, by a good deal; that it is extremely difficult to see how Poland can maintain forever a neutral attitude, caught as she is between two huge neighbors and cut off from any outside aid save the questionable help she might get from Rumania; and that Polish faith in the willingness and ability of France to assist her in time of need by pressure on the Rhine frontier has all but disappeared. A Roman Catholic nation, she has from this fact an additional bias against Communism. It may well be that, weighing all these things in the balance, Polish statesmen have come to the conclusion that in cooperation with Germany rather than either an attempt to maintain a precarious neutrality, or any further dalliance with distant France and uncertain Russia, lies Poland's best hope of maintaining her independence. If they can bludgeon or be-dazzle the Polish people into accepting this idea, the result will surely be of far-reaching, indeed terrible import for the rest of Europe if not the world. It will open to Germany that direct access to the "promised land" of the Ukraine which she has lacked; it will take away the potential threat of a Polish attack on the flank and rear of a German thrust into

Czechoslovakia by the most attractive route, that of Breslau-Glatz-Nachod; it will bring the German air force within bombing-range of Moscow, a privilege hitherto unenjoyed. But these things are for the future.

In 1914, there ensued a period of waiting in which a hope grew that Serbia's yielding had been enough, a five-day period filled with frantic efforts for peace on the part of other Powers, ill-directed and futile though some of them were. Then Austria declared war, and moved on Belgrade.

In 1938, we have come upon another period of waiting. Will Poland march on? Will Russia mobilize? Will a great war follow? Those questions may be answered by the time this article is in print; or they may not be. More than likely this period of waiting will be longer. But the first step has been taken and already we hear of a Polish minority in Lithuania which must be "protected"—a minority stated to number 200,000, though the true figure is probably nearer 80,000. There is also a German minority in Lithuania, largely in the district of Memel. One thinks of Czechoslovakia's "Sudeten Deutsch," and one sees the thin edge of the entering wedge: a wedge whose immediate purpose may be the elimination of the Russian air-force's stepping-stone to Berlin, but whose ultimate purpose is in all probability the addition of the great Polish nation of 32,000,000 people, with its excellent army and great resources, to the growing strength of the Rome-Berlin axis. For the accomplishment of this purpose, the pro-German party at Warsaw appear to be using Lithuania as their helpless tool.

Whether this purpose will ever be translated into fact; it is for the future to disclose. The methods by which it will be attempted will undoubtedly take care of the first and immediate purpose also. In any case, unless Russia helps her, Lithuania seems to be coming to the end of her brief career of independence, however the fiction of its continued existence may for a time be preserved; hers is the fate of many another pawn of empire.

And if Russia does help her? Again one recalls—and shudders in recalling—the terrible summer of 1914. But one remembers also Russia's present inaction in the Far East—and wonders whether Russia is able to help.

To test this crucial point—in the fashion of the Japanese on the Amur frontier last summer—may well be another German purpose underlying these recent Baltic bickerings.

DUTCH CURE FOR FASCISM

*Herrn Mussert would like to be Holland's
Fuehrer but the people have other ideas*

By T. JOHN BENNETT WENNER

MOST Dutchmen were still taking fascism lightly when they began to hear of a certain Government engineer who proposed to dynamite the dykes and overthrow parliamentarianism in the Netherlands. This man was drawing a good salary from Her Majesty's treasury; besides, he was a departmental director in one of the Provinces, and altogether this was a little too much for Dutch stomachs to digest. After Hollanders had time to rub their eyes, eat a hearty Dutch breakfast and smoke a mild cigar, they commenced to take stock.

Anton Adrian Mussert was thirty-seven years old at the time he founded the National Socialist Party in Holland. Raised in comparatively good circumstances, he had been able to attend the University of Delft, where he chose engineering as a profession. Entering the Government Service, he rose quickly to become Chief Engineer of the Ministry of Waterways of the Province of Utrecht.

But "the new spirit which conquers the whole world," as he expressed it to the writer this summer, had taken a strong grip on his engineer mind. In 1931, with the help of an employee in the Sheriff's office of the Province of Utrecht, C. Van Geelkerken (now Secretary General of the Movement), he began work on political blue-prints. The result was a National Socialist *Beweging* for Holland, whose principles Mussert believes must sweep him into power just as "fascism is sweeping over Europe."

The inspiration for Dutch fascism undoubtedly has been Il Duce's corporate state. Mussert has been to Rome four times and cherishes a large portrait of Mussolini, which hangs in his office at Party Headquarters in Utrecht. On this, in characteristic bold handwriting, Il Duce has inscribed four lines of well-wishing for the spread of fascist doctrine in Holland. Alongside Mussolini's portrait is one of Hitler. And these men, Mussert holds, "are the two greatest statesmen of our time." Over the mantel hangs a large picture of the Queen, looking strangely out of place. Her Majesty is kept purposely misin-



WOULD BE DICTATOR: Anton Adrian Mussert is Holland's fascist leader but has been rebuffed at the polls.

formed of the true state of affairs in the Netherlands," he contends, "and is a good deal more under the domination of Her Majesty's First Minister, Premier Colijn, than is either the King or the Queen of Italy under the influence of Mussolini."

The Dutch "Leider" has never met Hitler. This he explains by saying that "the little Dutch wooden ship might get bumped off by the large armored German cruiser before the little Dutch ship is armor-plated. There will be time enough for this when we are stronger," he concludes.

In his spacious office in Utrecht, the desk is pushed far back in the corner and on it lies a foot long mahogany dagger. The interviewer is carefully warned that cigar and cigaret smoke is distasteful to the "Leider." Mussert sips orangeade as he looks through glass doors onto a garden in the rear of Party Headquarters and ponders over the state of affairs in the Low Countries. He has little of the austerity of countenance for which he strives in photographs and on Party posters. Reserved in conversation and possessing almost

no oratorical powers, Mussert is something of an anomaly in the present crop of European dictators. Students at both Leiden and Amsterdam have remarked at this lack of dictatorial form. "Imagine a successful demagogue," they said, "who reads his political speeches almost line for line."

But what Anton Mussert could not borrow from his compatriots in Germany and Italy he could construct out of raw materials along the dykes. And he set to work as methodically as though he were about to construct spillways along a Utrecht canal.

The Party's program was formulated in Utrecht in 1931, and amplified a year later. On paper it proved to be about equal parts opportunism, paternalism, economic credulity, dogmatism, idealism, and well-intentioned social sense. Viewed from the larger international perspective it was, and still is, a mixture of corporate-ism, cooperative-ism, individualism, anti-Semitism (carefully veiled), cultural regimentation, preparedness, pacifism, and fascist universalism. Altogether it is one of the oddest assortments of political fish ever to be pulled up in the net of fascist "ideology."

The reason for founding the N. S. B. was asserted to be the weakness which democracy had shown along moral, economic, military, religious, and national lines. Parliamentary government, the party system and class hatred were condemned. Mussert and his colleagues saw "Democracy ending in Marxism and Communism, while Italy and afterward Germany were throwing back Marxism and Communism and standing up as strong young nations." Politicians were held unfit to govern the nation's economy which "ought to be placed in the hands of experienced economic leaders." The principle of private property was accepted but control of the bank capital was asked.

Palatable forms of paternalism were not lacking. "Immorality and brutishness, such as we find nearly everywhere," were denounced. "Social righteousness in a state in which everyone has responsibility for and a right of say in the trades and professions in which

they work," was to be realized under National Socialism. Pension rights ought to be guaranteed at ages fifty to sixty, depending on the kind of employment pursued.

Arts and sciences were to be furthered through "suppression of dogmas, institutions, and actions which threaten the nation and the good morals." Strikes and lockouts were to be forbidden and industrial differences settled "without disturbing the trade." Liberty of conscience and religion were to be guaranteed with protection of the Christian religion for the European parts of the Empire. A compulsory work-year for every young man and woman was decreed. Abolition of "the immoral conscription system" was asked, with "awarding of the defense right to every able-bodied citizen who was considered worthy thereof." Defense plans were to be pushed and order and discipline under a strong national authority were demanded.

Circumscribing all, was "the spirit that will put an end to the everywhere-raging economic civil war and make all available forces of the people cooperate in the 'corporate' state." All this was held to be an adaptation to Dutch conditions, the traditions of the country and its national character.

Trappings of Dictatorship

The national flag of the Netherlands was held unacceptable for supporters of the new *Beweging* ("Unity plus Renaissance"). In its place was substituted the black and red emblem of the new Party. The counterpart of "Heil Hitler" was to be "Hou Zee" (pronounced *How Zay* and variously translated by members to mean "greetings," "courage," and "carry on"). This phrase was borrowed from an old Dutch custom of hailing incoming and departing sea-captains and their crews along the North Sea coast.

The fascist salute was to be used; but in place of the "swastika," or the Roman "fasces," the "Wolfsangel," or wolf's trap was chosen—a sign found on the doors of old Dutch houses, memorializing the struggle of poor peasants against marauding bands of wolves.

Black-shirts were to be worn in public and at Party ceremonies. Members of the "storm troops" were to be distinguished by cap with shiny vizor, shoulder straps and leather boots or leggings. Special insignia were designed for subdivisional officials and "inside workers." District *Inspecteurs* were entitled to wear three silver bars on their sleeves; *Kringleiders*, three gold

bars and a gilded lion; *Groepsleiders*, two gold bars and a lion; *Blokleiders*, one gold bar and a lion. All persons who had reached an age of eighteen and could be expected to pay party dues, were eligible to apply for membership. Posters were hung in sub-divisional headquarters, bearing a picture of the "Leider" and inscribed "Mussert or Moscow."

Between 1931-33, Mussert and his group of "reliable men" worked quietly and perfected their organization. In 1933 a parade of about six hundred National Socialists was held in the city of Utrecht, and a weekly propaganda sheet, "Volk en Vaderland," began to be circulated widely.

But most Hollanders forgot temporarily about Anton Mussert as they turned to look at the economic whirlpool that threatened to sweep their small country and the third largest colonial Empire in the World into its vortex.

Conditions were especially bad in the Low Countries between 1933-36. National and city budgets were hard hit. In the late summer of 1934 the Government reduced unemployment benefits. Among other consequences the laboring classes in the Jordaan quarter of Amsterdam rose in revolt and for one day and night the quarter was in communist hands. This was followed by an N.S.B. publication condemning the government. From a small band of stragglers in Utrecht the year before, the National Socialist ranks swelled to 25,000 demonstrators in Amsterdam in the fall of 1934.

By the next summer unemployment was nearing 400,000. Farmers were bitterly complaining of sale prices below cost of production; textile industries were sorely pressed, and there was acute hardship in the mining districts of Limburg. The middle classes saw their savings depleted and the professional classes their salaries reduced. In July-August, 1935, the Government faced the frightening fact that nearly one-fifth of the Netherlands Bank gold had been withdrawn. Crisis organizations were erected for regulating production, prices, imports, and exports. Imports for sea-born merchandise hit low for December 1935, with exports standing at less than one-fourth their 1929 total.

Meantime the way had been prepared for a stampede among certain sections of the bourgeoisie, by an uprising on a naval training ship in the East Indies, the old battle-ship *De Zeven Provinciën* (called after the flag-

ship of the celebrated Admiral De Ruyter). Leftist revolutionaries at home were blamed for inciting "mutiny," and the Government was condemned for tolerating "red" influences in the Fleet. Dutch pride was deeply wounded, and many persons were won over to the National Socialist cause.

In certain districts along the German frontier, in Groeningen, Drente, and Limburg—especially hard hit by the agricultural and mining crises—many inhabitants of Germanic sympathy and origin welcomed an opportunity to turn their support to Mussert. Extremists in the labor unions in the industrial centers pointed an angry finger at their capitalist overlords and threatened to sabotage industrial processes. Unable to make their beds with either the extreme Left or Right, many Liberals in the center were persuaded to try fascism as a tonic for their jittery nerves. Mussert even flew to the Colonies and organized mass meetings in the East Indies.

National Socialist Victory

In the elections of 1935 for the movement, some districts gave as high as 300,000 votes, an alarming total on percentages for the Netherlands. What had happened was that first in the big cities and later in the country districts fascism had taken foothold. Some districts in the Province of Limburg in extreme south Netherlands and in the poorer agricultural Province of Drente in the north, gave as high as 24 and 14 per cent respectively of their votes to National Socialism.

Such sentiment was especially marked along the German frontier, and it is freely admitted in the Netherlands that certain areas of these eastern provinces constitute a real threat to Dutch sovereignty. In middle-east Netherlands, in Gelderland, and also in Groeningen and Drente, National Socialism swept back appreciable distances into the country. Considerable support also came from the Provinces of North and South Holland in which the great industrial centers of Amsterdam and Rotterdam are located. In the Province of Utrecht, home of the Movement, some districts gave as high as 11 per cent of their vote to the National Socialists, while the city of Utrecht gave 10 per cent. Holland really seemed in danger.

Set-Back

Foreign press dispatches of last spring carried brief accounts of Premier Colijn's efforts to secure a mandate for

the Ministry's "policy of adaptation to the economic crisis." Also mentioned was the threat of National Socialism in Holland. But to most Netherlands the issue of National Socialism vs. Democracy was a good deal more significant than these dispatches indicated.

In the general elections of this year thousands of Dutchmen cast their votes, feeling that for the first time in a general election in Holland the question turned on the preservation of parliamentary government and their constitutional rights. In a whirlwind campaign the Premier made these dominant issues, delivering over thirty addresses in one month. On election eve Hollanders gathered around their radios with more tenseness than usual to see if Anton Mussert and his "black-shirts" would plant their feet firmly in the Parliament. The results proved highly gratifying to a majority of these listeners. The National Socialists lost 42 per cent of their popular strength of two years ago, although they will have eight members in the States General at The Hague this fall—four in the Lower chamber and four in the Upper.

Factors in Set-Back

A variety of factors has contributed to this set-back. Not the least important has been the "cockiness" of the National Socialists themselves. Too encouraged by its success of 1935, the N. S. B. overplayed its hand in this year's elections. Oceans of ink were spilled by the National Socialist press. Country districts were strewn with party posters. Pictures of the Leider and placards inscribed, "I Vote Mussert," competed for interest with the picturesque Dutch countryside. In some country lanes every third tree was plastered. Between Utrecht and Amsterdam highways were literally papered. Not so strange a phenomenon in certain western countries, the fascist campaign was something of a novelty to Hollanders. Let it be said that the opposition press, once aroused, spared no invective. At first amused, many Dutchmen became a good deal irritated as the campaign progressed. And on election day they became downright mad!

An N. S. B. Party official in Amsterdam summed it up: "The first time you tell a Hollander he *must* do something, he will listen courteously; if told again, he will knit his eyebrows, and the third time he is very likely to tell you to go to the devil. We told Dutchmen how they were *going* to vote, but we will know better next time." A

statement authorized for publication by the National Socialist Party Headquarters in Utrecht this past August declared:

"The N. S. B. has been too opportunistic in its campaign, not taking into account the Dutch character, which wants positiveness, goes slow and sure. The older political parties understood the psychology of the people better than the young N. S. B. The N. S. B.

political propaganda over the air is forbidden.

Precautions have been taken in congested areas to prevent clashes between communists and fascists. Special regulations apply to the N. S. B. weekly *Volk en Vaderland*, which cannot be sold in certain laboring quarters. Distributors of this paper are not permitted to call out its name and are required to keep moving on the streets.



FASCIST PARADE: A new government decree forbids uniformed parades such as these. The young fascists are followers of Anton Mussert.

is now reconsidering the situation. The Dutch are in reality ripe for the ideas of national socialism: unity, cooperation of all parts of the nation. But they want to do it in their own way—cool, sure, logically, no big words but positive deeds. And there is where the chance of the N. S. B. lies."

Protective Measures

For some time past, laws have been piling up on the statute books to curb the activities of Herrn Mussert's Fascists. Since September 1933, wearing of "black-shirt" uniforms in public has been prohibited. No member of the army, navy, or air force may belong to the National Socialist Party. This applies also to government officials and to teachers in the publicly supported schools. Since May 1936, when clashes in the streets of Amsterdam occurred on the occasion of Her Majesty's visit to the Palace, "private armies" have been forbidden. In nearly all of the principal cities the public authorities have refused permission for National Socialist parades. No political uniforms may be worn in public, and all

Numbers of these restrictions apply also to the Communists and to other political parties.

Since June 1936 a "Vigilance Committee of Anti-National Socialist Intellectuals" has been operating to combat the spread of fascism. This organization, under the chairmanship of Dr. C. Joseph Pos of the University of Amsterdam, has grown from an original charter group of one hundred to about one thousand members, including sixty teachers in different universities of the Netherlands. A much larger organization, "Unity Through Democracy," founded after the election "scare" of 1935 to oppose the spread of both Fascism and Communism, now has a membership of about 25,000. Of this number approximately one-fourth are Jews.

Stand on Jews

When I asked Mussert to what he attributed his recent set-back, he replied that "it was the large Jewish-controlled press." And indeed it takes little reading between the lines to predict what may happen to Jewry in the Netherlands should Herrn Mussert and

his Party come to power. Like Mussolini's earlier stand on the question, the N. S. B. program of 1931 did not contain an anti-Semitic plank. Nor has this position been altered *on paper*. About 200 Jews belong to the Party at present. But fascist leaders in the towns and provinces will tell you that when a Jew joins the Movement "he is suspect from the start." After talking with more than fifteen important National Socialist officials, I gained the very definite impression that an anti-Semitic outbreak is in the offing in Holland if these "inside workers" have anything to say about it—although the *Leider's* more moderate view may hold it in check.

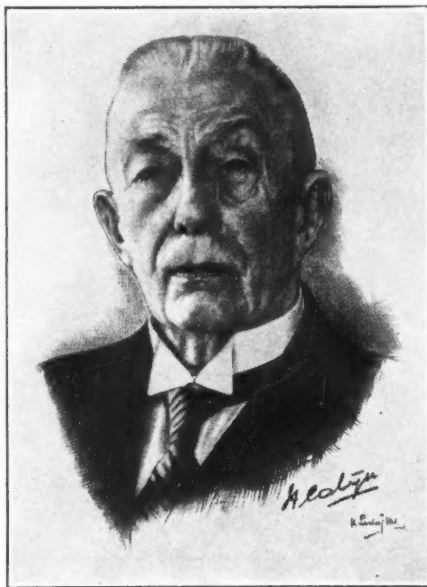
Interestingly enough, many Dutch Jews take a stand not so different from Mussert's, namely, that a Holland Jew should be first and foremost a good Dutchman and that German Jews coming into the country do not appear to understand the importance of this distinction. But even old Portuguese and Dutch Jews are not so naïve as to believe that if Herrn Mussert and his ardent party-workers should have a turn for the better, any fine distinctions would be drawn between classes of Jewry in the Low Countries. They are quite certain they could expect to pack up and seek asylum elsewhere.

Economic Upswing

A further important factor in the defeat of Mussert, of course, has been the economic upswing coupled with devaluation of the Netherlands' currency. Although the Government's about-face on fiscal policy (September 26, 1936) has brought higher prices, conditions in the main have shown general improvement. This has been especially marked in the ship-building and steel industries, with certain exports steadily increasing, especially those of heavy industry. But the unemployment crisis by no means has been passed. Nor does the future of agriculture seem bright. Foreign markets must be found for the Netherlands' agricultural products and this promises to be one of the most difficult tasks of the "rightist-clerical-coalition" Government, which comes to replace the broader-based National Cabinet of last spring. In

these sore-spots Herrn Mussert and his sympathizers expect to find strength in the next *provincial* elections.

The National Socialists believe that the "reactionary economy" of the clericals who have come back strongly for a total of 56 seats in the Chamber, will only hasten a dynamiting of the Colijn Ministry from mass pressure below. They are confident, too, that the "might of Jewry will be unmasked," throwing support to the N. S. B. in the urban centers. And they expect that the parties of the moderate left will continue



DEMOCRAT: Premier Colijn has used the methods of a strong man to prevent strong men from destroying democracy in Holland.

to vacillate, failing to unite against their traditional enemies of the capitalist Right or against revolutionary elements of the extreme Left.

But even should these hypotheses prove correct, Dutch National Socialism will still have one very high hurdle to jump. This is the cool-headedness and innate conservatism of the Dutch temperament, which takes particular aversion to Europe's present crop of regimenting dictators.

"Victory Is Inevitable"

Meantime, Anton Adrian Mussert is taking stock of his position and realigning his forces. After six years of very

hard work he has managed to get himself dismissed from the Government and stepped on by a wooden shoe. What he thinks about it all in the dark of his room at night is nobody's business. Just the same, many Dutchmen wish they knew. Outwardly, the *Leider* gives no appearance of being disheartened. In August he assured this correspondent that "Victory is inevitable, since time and principles are on our side."

About 20,000 members have left the Party since the last elections. But a fairly strong framework remains—with national departments of Propaganda, Organization, Administration, Finance, Personnel, Labor, Agriculture, Colonies and Culture. At Utrecht sits the High Court, or Disciplinary Council, to hear cases dealing with party disloyalty, infractions of the code of personal morality and failure to pay dues. Upwards of sixty Party correspondents have been delegated to keep the directorate regularly informed of persecutions against the rank and file and to record the names of all persons involved.

Constant Vigilance

Whether Mussert's structure will crash about his ears and send him back to constructing bridges and dykes, remains to be seen. Hollanders are taking nothing for granted and are maintaining a constant vigilance against a fascist regime. They refuse to concede that the basic political struggle of our time is between democracy, communism and fascism, or even between fascism and democracy. Rather they hold that this conflict is between a progressive but sound economic, social and political conservatism, and revolutionary panaceas and "isms" of one form or another for calming Europe's troubled waters.

Most Hollanders are too modest to suggest that the kind of "Dutch Uncle" treatment recently administered to National Socialism in a little country of eight and one-half million inhabitants can be applied elsewhere with equal success. But a majority is not too unassertive to hold that democracy is a romantic faith still worth fighting for, even though it may need a giant to stand up to and require "demagogues" to oppose.

SCHOOLBOYS TO OFFICERS

Biased The nation's high schools and colleges will supply
85 per cent of our army officers in the next war

By EDWIN L. STOLL

Pro-militarism

"PATENT medicine" governments today juggle the peace of the world with unsteady hands. And in the United States national defense and preparedness are paramount issues. Whether it is two, ten, or twenty years before America is plunged into another major conflict, will she be prepared? Will she be able and ready to defeat the enemy? Or will her soldiers be mowed down in useless sacrifice through poor training and tactics, disorganization, and foolhardy plans?

The answer to those vital questions depends, to a large extent, upon the Reserve Officers' Training Corps.

For Reserve Officers, most of them commissioned after R.O.T.C. training, will supply 85 per cent of our army officers, the brains of the fighting machine, in case of another national emergency. Today there are 96,545 active Reserve Officers—civilians engaged in every type of occupation—and 167,818 high school and college students are enrolled in the R.O.T.C., the officers' training ground.

Only when these figures and the characteristics of the organization are studied, do the magnitude and importance of the R.O.T.C. become apparent. Our

regular army officers and National Guard heads will, in actual combat, comprise a very small minority. Actually our Reserve Officers—120,000 is the ultimate goal as set forth by the War Department—will guide and think for our thousands of drafted soldiers.

Most of the Reserve Officers are the cream of American youth, graduates of our colleges and military schools with four years of instruction in R.O.T.C. subjects by officers of the United States army. For the first two years in a regular college, they are enrolled in the basic course, compulsory in some schools, and attend military classes at least three hours a week. Then they voluntarily enter the advanced course with classes five hours a week and agree to a six weeks' training period in camp during the summer between their junior and senior years. Upon the completion of the four-year R.O.T.C. curriculum, they are eligible to accept commissions as second lieutenants in the Organized Reserves at the age of 21. The government furnishes all equipment for their instruction, including uniforms, rifles, ammunition, artillery, and the necessary technical instruments. Cadets in the advanced corps receive regular pay-

ments from the government for the commutation of rations, which usually averages about 25 cents a day for the two years.

As raw recruits, cadets in the R.O.T.C. first receive training in fundamentals such as military organization and courtesy, school of the soldier, manual of arms, and simple drill movements. Then, acquiring some of the snap and polish proverbially associated with the army, they progress to rifle marksmanship, military history and policy, and more complicated movements. After two years the basic course is completed, and students may drop the training if they choose. During the advanced course, leadership, command, and military law, tactics, and administration are stressed.

Interwoven with these general subjects throughout all four years is the specialized training necessary to qualify in the branch of service in which the individuals are enrolled. For example, coast and field artillery cadets drill with dummy shells on standard guns, running through with precision every movement of the gun crew with the exception of the actual shooting. In theory classes they learn the how and



MORNING ORDERS: Student officers belonging to the Reserve Officers' Training Corps of the Amundsen High School, Chicago, receive their orders from a superior.

why, and finally in the advanced course, they delve into the higher mathematics in solving problems of firing upon an objective—building, troops, warships, or airplanes, depending upon the artillery involved.

They're in the Army now

During the summer camp the future Reserve Officers taste a full-sized bite of real army life. Up at the crack of dawn with a shrill whistle splitting the quiet, and early to bed with the sound of the bugle—far from a college boy's routine—they put in a rigorous day. Brisk infantry drill, bed-making, "k.p." duty, brass and shoe shining, and rifle and machine-gun firing are only a few of the general activities. Artillery students man and blast away with their large guns, and the cavalry cadets sit astride a horse over many dusty miles. It is here that the real practical touch is applied.

The 226 senior R.O.T.C. units in the country, with an enrollment of 106,027 college students, are divided into 90 of infantry, 11 of cavalry, 28 of field artillery, 24 of coast artillery, 29 of engineers, 11 of signal corps, 9 of ordnance department, 22 of medical corps, and 2 of chemical warfare service.

But swelling the total of cadets to 167,818 are the 61,791 students of high school age enrolled in the 142 junior units. The primary objective of these corps is to lay the foundation for further military instruction leading to a position of responsibility in case of actual military service. Secondarily, they inculcate the habits of orderliness, courtesy, correct posture, leadership, and loyalty to constituted authority. Training is offered for three years in infantry only and is similar to the college basic course. High school graduates, naturally, are not eligible for commissions as Reserve Officers, but they receive special credit and certain exemptions in the college R.O.T.C.

Although many of the high school and college cadets do not continue their training into the advanced work to qualify as Reserve Officers, they compose a skeletonized foundation to aid in the building of our army in case of necessity. Many of them will be appointed non-commissioned officers immediately.

For the operation of this vast organization during the year ending this coming June, Congress appropriated \$4,637,420—not a very impressive sum for the preparation of the men who some day very likely will hold the fate of thousands in their hands. The per



CAVALRY TRAINING: In time of war, these young men will become officers in the cavalry divisions. Military training is a required subject in many colleges.

capita cost per year from R.O.T.C. funds for students of the advanced course is \$105.80. Doubling this amount and adding the training camp cost of \$159.76 presents a total of \$371.36, the average cost of putting a cadet through the last two years of the R.O.T.C. The unit cost per basic student is \$12.80; for the junior student, \$6.17.

Once the Reserve Officers receive their commissions, however, the days of study and preparation are not over. To remain on the active list and to be eligible for promotion, they must continually refresh and increase their knowledge through army extension courses, studying at least 20 hours a year and passing written tests. They must also attend camp for two weeks every three years. But even though the pressure of their civilian occupation prevents activity, they will be valuable assets for the government in case of emergency by virtue of their former training.

The Opposition

The average number of college R.O.T.C. graduates who were appointed second lieutenants in the Organized Reserve Corps each year from 1933 through 1936 was 6,117. During the same period an average of 319 young men who had completed four years of training in the Citizens' Military Training Camps received their commissions annually. Last year a total of 10,224 became Reserve lieutenants, including 5,704 R.O.T.C. graduates, 199 enlisted men in the army, 347 C.M.T.C. trainees, and 45 World War veterans. The remainder were civilians, former Na-

tional Guard officers, and others who were qualified.

Naturally, pacifists and other "istic" groups in the country arouse the old stock arguments against the R.O.T.C., many of them subtly attempting to destroy the organization for their own insidious objectives. They claim that the R.O.T.C. creates a spirit of war, that it is un-American and a trend toward methods used in fascistic nations, that our youths should be educated to plan for peace rather than prepare for war, that it should be abolished. In brief, the "I didn't raise my son to be a soldier" theme is exploited and twisted in numerous grotesque shapes to fit the individual purpose.

In itself, that theme is very sensible and commendable. Mothers and fathers do not rear their children to be cannon fodder. But many a parent and youth is misled by the clever turn given the theme by the radical opposition.

Newton D. Baker, former Secretary of War, however, faced the issue squarely when he said, "God forbid that I should want anybody to go to war, but I am too old to be otherwise than frank. The attitude of many youths and many churches in seeking to avoid war by having nothing to do with it, is a flight from reality. If this nation became involved in another war, the young men would be drafted, in spite of any pledges or desires, or position or responsibility." *would we go?*

And when the country is mobilized, and the men drafted, they will be rushed through a "short course" training program and pushed up to the lines in a few weeks, there to shift for themselves. Then who will be able best to

Doesn't prove they
know

defend not only their country but themselves? The answer is obvious—the former R.O.T.C. students, their efficiency naturally increasing with the number of years of study.

Many of the R.O.T.C. cadets and graduates regard their training as self-protection, a sort of vaccination against being struck down helplessly through inability to resist if they are projected into combat. These are the ones, after all, who are facing the problem sen-

cerning this. France has 14.7 per cent of her population trained for service; Sweden, 14.4 per cent; Switzerland, 14.4 per cent; Italy, 14.1 per cent, and so on until we come to the forty-third country in the list, the United States, which has 36/100 of 1 per cent, less than one half of 1 per cent. We are ahead of Denmark, Costa Rica, Haiti, Honduras, and Venezuela. A comparison of the cost of our defensive forces and that of the percentage of

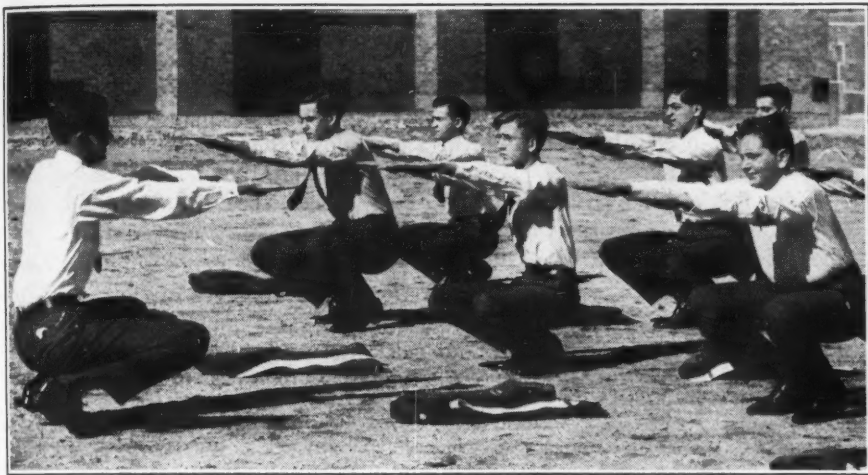
R.O.T.C. and C.M.T.C. in this country, and compare the tiny number of men actually prepared to defend the United States. Then most of the arguments of the opponents become weak indeed.

In a survey conducted a few years ago by the Department of the Interior and the Research Organization on Military Education, answers were received from 10,166 graduates of 54 colleges and universities, who had experienced R.O.T.C. training. Of this total, 79.1 per cent said that it had aided them in the development of leadership, 81.6 per cent replied that it had helped in the development of discipline, and 66.5 per cent answered that it had aided in the development of orderliness. Other characteristics which the training promoted, according to the survey, were initiative, confidence, health, patriotism, and decision.

Summing up the educational value, Arthur Cutts Willard, president of the University of Illinois, said, "Many students have been benefited by the military training program—educationally, physically, and otherwise. It has strengthened their characters and has made them more useful members of their communities. One of the most important obligations of colleges and universities in the United States, particularly the State colleges and universities, is to develop in the hearts and minds of their students a real sense of social responsibility. Their military training program has done as much, if not more, in this direction as any of their other educational activities."

Another leading educator, C. C. Williams, president of Lehigh university, said, "In addition to the primary value of military training as a preparedness measure, I believe that students are personally benefited in their personal appearance and carriage, in their social adaptability, and in their sense of social responsibility. Therefore, I believe that military training represented by R.O.T.C. experience represents a personal benefit which a student will appreciate more and more in his years subsequent to graduation."

Today, as the peace-juggling hands become more and more shaky, the national defense, the hope, and the security of America rest, for a great part, with the Reserve Officers, not only the business leaders of the present, but the military leaders of the future.



LIMBERING UP: The early drills of the R.O.T.C. classes emphasize body building rather than military exercises.

sibly. World War veterans will vouch for that statement.

These cadets have no illusions about the glamor of war; all those are destroyed as they study the modern death-dealing instruments and the facts of military history. They do not want to expose their bodies to bullets, bayonets, and shrapnel any more than the most vociferous of those who term themselves pacifists. They back wholeheartedly all attempts to preserve peace; they study world conditions and suggest ways and means to maintain peace. But in case something does go wrong, they can always fall back on their training and preparation. They are like the builder, who, although he puts all types of fireproof materials and devices in his new building, still carries fire insurance.

"Many insinuations are made that by subterfuge we are training too large a proportion of our young people for war in the R.O.T.C. and the C.M.T.C. and they are becoming militaristic as a result," Maj. Gen. Hugh A. Drum, Commanding General of the second army and the 6th corps area, recently said.

"Let me give you a few figures con-

cerning this. France has 14.7 per cent of her population trained for service; Sweden, 14.4 per cent; Switzerland, 14.4 per cent; Italy, 14.1 per cent, and so on until we come to the forty-third country in the list, the United States, which has 36/100 of 1 per cent, less than one half of 1 per cent. We are ahead of Denmark, Costa Rica, Haiti, Honduras, and Venezuela. A comparison of the cost of our defensive forces and that of the percentage of

trained men leaves us far behind the defensive requirements considered 'adequate' by other nations."

Today more than seven million men are under arms. These permanent forces are far greater than those just before the outbreak of the World War. To prepare for apparently irresistible mass warfare, most of the governments require universal compulsory military service. In France, for example, every young Frenchman is required to register in his home district for service with the army when he reaches the age of 20. If physically fit, he is drafted for 18 months or two years and is assigned to a regiment where he enters a strenuous training program. When his two years are completed, he returns to college or job, but his name remains on the reserve list for 28 years. He goes back to the army for a short training course during the summer months. In case of war, he must report immediately for active duty. This system makes it possible for most of the countries to mobilize their entire populations on a war footing almost over night.

Contrast the character of the

Upire Wright

*Sure! Hope of using
army to crush labor
& keep profit system going*

V. F. CALVERTON

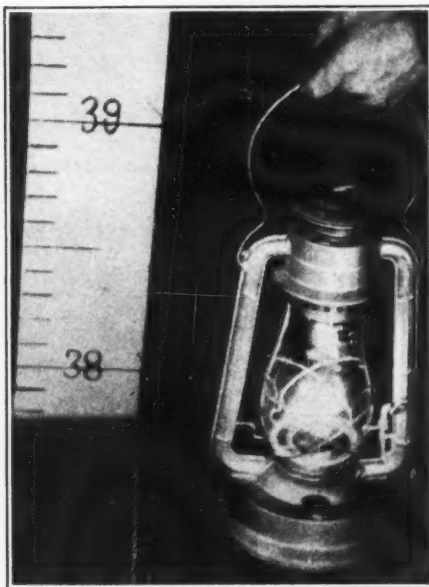
Cultural Barometer

LAST month this department was concluded with a description of *The River*, which the writer considers one of the most significant cinemas produced in many years. This month the department begins with a discussion of the same cinema and includes several quotations from it which contribute so much to make the film memorable. *The River*, let it be said at once, is more than a cinema. It is a cinema plus—plus poetry, plus music, plus design. Unlike the majority of cinemas, it cannot be separated from its contributory elements. Without the poetry, without the music, without the design—without any one of them the picture would be a failure. It succeeds only because all the elements blend so perfectly, so symphonically, into a significant and superlative whole. The words of Pare Lorentz, who is also the director of the film, and the music of Vergil Thompson, are as intrinsic as the shots of the Mississippi, of the river-people, of the timberlands, and of the mad down-rush of waters from creeks, rivulets, and streams into the vast, winding, accumulating body of the river itself.

Fortunately, a book has just been published which contains the words as well as the pictures that constitute the substance of the film. The words heard in the context of the film are magical; yet read aside from the film, in the silent context of type, they are no less compelling, no less magnificent. As a matter of fact, the words are so rare, so fine, so superb, they suggest comparison with Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* in their eloquence. Pare Lorentz has caught in those words something of the driving force of the continent, of the power of elemental things, of the gorgeousness and grandeur, of the threat and terror, of nature and life living at cross-purposes with themselves. Whitman himself would have been proud to have written these words:

"From as far West as Idaho,
Down from the glacier peaks of
the Rockies
From as far East as New York,
Down from the turkey ridges of
the Alleghenies

Down from Minnesota, twenty-five
hundred miles,
The Mississippi River runs to the
Gulf
Carrying every drop of water that
flows down two-thirds of the
Continent—
Carrying every brook and rill,
rivulet and creek—
Carrying all the rivers that run
down two thirds the Continent,
The Mississippi runs to the Gulf of
Mexico."



DOCUMENTARY FILM: Pare Lorentz' *THE RIVER*, from which the above photograph of a flood gauge was taken, rates as one of the outstanding motion picture productions of the year.

And then there are lines which rise like music to the perilous heights of great poetry:

"And we made cotton king.
We rolled a million bales down the
river for Liverpool and Leeds,
1860 we rolled four million bales
down the river—
Rolled them off Alabama,
Rolled them off Mississippi,
Rolled them off Louisiana,
Rolled them down the river
We mined the soil for cotton until
it would yield no more, and then
moved West . . .

We built a hundred cities and a thousand towns, but at what a cost.
We cut the top off the Alleghenies and sent it down the river;
We cut the top off Minnesota and sent it down the river;
We cut the top off Wisconsin and sent it down the river.
We left the mountains and hills slashed and burned, and moved on."

Whatever one may say in condemnation of the Rooseveltian policies of government, this much can be said in definite affirmation of their cultural value: they have produced, through their encouragement of cultural projects, some of the most exceptional work of our decade, in music, in drama, and now in the cinema, and the greatest of all the contributions to date is *The River*.

Negro Culture: 1938

In the twenties, when prosperity was riding high and haughty in the saddle, all kinds of cults ran rife up hill and down, in every part of the country. One of the most interesting and exotic was the Negro cult which thrived by virtue of white rather than black inspiration. White liberals and esthetes in all parts of the nation, especially in publishing houses, suddenly discovered that the Negroes were more than an uncultured primitive people. The Negro Spirituals, which had been admired and lauded—and sung—in England and Scotland twenty-five years before, were discovered at long last by the Americans who then exalted them into a cult. Negro Blues and Labor Songs soon after received a similar exaltation. American publishers went in for Negro things in a big way. Every book of poems, every short story, every novel, regardless of how mediocre was accepted, enthusiastically endorsed, and published with blurbs which made the most obscure Aframericans turn into Shakespeares overnight. The result of it all was that Negro literature suffered from a form of exhibitionism which was nothing short of pathological. Today, for instance, out of all the flash and fanfare of those days only two of

three Negro writers of any importance have survived. The very best of the group in terms of potentiality, Countee Cullen, has produced nothing of significance in a number of years. Only Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, Sterling Brown, and George Schuyler remain. Promising writers like Walter White, once a challenge to the new American literature but now too embroiled with political activities to continue to dedicate his talents to fiction, Eric Walrond, Jessie Fauset, Jonathan Matheus, Gwendolyn Bennett, Jean Toomer, have failed to add to the promising work which they began.

New Tests

Today the Negro writer no longer has the opportunity of those early years when anything he wrote was bound to be published. Today he has to meet the market on its own terms, in equal competition with white writers and the consequence has been beneficial. Many Negro writers have been unable to meet the new test of value, determined by a depression purchasing market, but the best of them have managed to continue their work without surrendering to the obvious discouragements and despairs which have beset and defeated many other writers of long experience. Out of the depression-decade of the thirties, two Negro writers have emerged whose work has continued to grow and ripen: Zora Neale Hurston and M. B. Tolson, both of whom possess talent of an extraordinarily high order.

But more important even than these individual writers is the fact that the Negro people themselves have become interested in various cultural activities which promise rich fruition within the next decade. This month, for instance, at Wiley College, Marshall, Texas, a Play Festival has been organized by the Southern Association of Dramatic and Speech Arts, which is a Negro cultural organization of great influence in the South. Attending the Festival were dramatic groups from the following Negro universities: Dillard University, New Orleans; Le Moyne College, Memphis; Texas College, Tyler; Houston College for Negroes, Houston, Texas; Langston State College, Langston, Oklahoma; and Bishop College. Among the plays produced the most interesting were three one-act plays: *A Southern Tragedy*, by Orange Clemens, a sharecropper's drama laid in Arkansas, *The Road to Damascus* by Jimmy Lilly and Inaree Miller, the tragic story of an outcast octoroon and an old Negro mammy who tries to educate her, and

Dawn, a play built about the unconventional love life of a Negro professor in a Negro medical school. All these plays were written by students at Wiley College, under the direction of Professor M. B. Tolson.

Things Negro

In that connection, it is interesting to report that at Wiley College a Book Review Digest, in dramatized form, has been introduced which has won the hearty support of the entire student body. Among the books reviewed in this dramatized form have been Robert Briffault's *Europa*, Feuchtwanger's *Power*, Carl Sandburg's *The People*, Yes, and T. S. Eliot's *Waste Land*. These reviews are so popular that the chapel, where they are given, is crowded to capacity whenever one is staged. They have helped interest students in books, have increased the sale of books in the community, and have made books into the most vital form of conversation on the campus. It is to be hoped that something like this may be introduced into other colleges to make

Negro people. Like the Play Festival described above, the aim is to encourage things Negro and not things white. The tendency to imitate white writers and dancers is discouraged. African folk dance and ritual is used as the background for much of the experimental work undertaken by the Hampton Institute group. "At work or at play," the Hampton Institute group declares, "and after work the African . . . and his descendants in America have been alike afflicted with what the Negro poet, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, called 'itchin' heels,' heels ready to caper in almost any kind of dance at a moment's notice."

The Libel Racket

The history of every literature has been checkered with attacks, persecutions, and suits of numerous varieties. Few authors have escaped their inflictions. In ancient days authors found it practically impossible to publish anything which contradicted the aims of the state. In Elizabethan days, for example, suppression was the immediate



NEW FILM TECHNIQUE: THE RIVER makes use of artistic maps such as these to show effectively the path of the flood waters.

more and more students realize that books are living things rather than dull texts to be imbibed as a form of mental medicine.

In other parts of the South, the Negro is more interested in dancing as a cultural form than in drama or literature. In Hampton Institute, for example, the Creative Dance Group there has dedicated itself to developing the rich "racial and native material" of the

device resorted to by the monarchy whenever it wished to counteract the influence of dangerous or subversive literature.

In more modern and contemporary days, authors have made more money and won more recognition and esteem from the public than they did in Elizabethan and Jacobean times, but suits against them have increased rather than decreased. In the nineteenth cen-

tury, for example, James Fenimore Cooper found himself the center of a whole series of suits which rendered his literary life a veritable battlefield of legal tragedy. To the end of his days he was harassed by the memory of those conflicts. He fought to the right of him and to the left of him, in front of him and in back of him, but the fight seemed never to cease. Edgar Allan Poe was also drawn into similar conflicts. Accused of forgery and drunkenness he fought against his enemies with remarkable success. In his suit against *The New York Mirror*, for example, Poe managed to win a verdict against the paper for the sum of \$225.

In our own day, the suit business has varied a bit but essentially it is the same. Instead of the author suing in defense of himself, however, we more often find him forced to defend himself against those who sue him. Many recent cases are illustrative: viz, the case of Ernest Sutherland Bates and Oliver Carson against one of the friends of Fallon in connection with their book on Hearst, and Thomas Wolfe's defense of himself against various and numerous people who claim he has put them into his books.

Of General Interest

One of the most interesting libel suits of literary and cultural significance of the present day is that connected with the conflict between Burton Rascoe, one of America's best known critics, and Max Annenberg, the well-known Chicagoan. Mr. Rascoe in his autobiography *Before I Forget* accused Mr. Annenberg of having used gangsters in the Chicago newspaper war of 1910, at which time, Ernest Sutherland Bates alleges "Mr. Annenberg, with a munition-maker's fine impartiality, functioned first on behalf of the Hearst papers and later on behalf of the Chicago Tribune." Mr. Annenberg instituted suit over nine months ago, for \$250,000, with the result that Mr. Rascoe's publisher, terrified by the risk involved, discouraged the sale of the book, Mr. Rascoe declares, and refused to advertise it under the unpropitious circumstances which had arisen. Tragic as such consequences were for Mr. Rascoe, they become more significant when we realize what occurred. When Mr. Rascoe set himself to answer Mr. Annenberg's suit, he discovered that his adversary had not filed his complaint. In other words, Mr. Annenberg made the complaint but did not file it, which

made it necessary for Mr. Rascoe, to force Mr. Annenberg to go through with the suit, to file the complaint for his opponent.

Mr. Rascoe's gesture in this regard is both original and significant. It represents an attempt on the part of an author to fight what has become commonly known today as the "libel racket" and put an end to the threat which it has held over the heads of many writers. Mr. Rascoe views his fight as more than personal. It is a fight which he feels must be fought through to a finish for the protection of the writers of the future as well as those of the present. It is for that reason that writers and literary people in general throughout the country—and the world—will watch with eagerness the outcome of the suit. At the present time the writer is well-nigh helpless before the attacks of those people who want to terrify publishers into suppressing books by threat of libel action. Almost every author and practically every publisher has consented to settle such suits out of court because the expense of a trial, even if successful, is too forbidding to contemplate. The result has been that authors have been victimized by their own fears and ineffectuality. If Mr. Rascoe wins in his battle with Mr. Annenberg it will mark a new milestone in the struggle of authors against the "libel racket." Mr. Rascoe, as Ernest Sutherland Bates has said, "is waging a battle in the public interest which should receive public support." Incidentally, Mr. Bates goes further in his discussion of the matter and suggests that "what is needed is an assessment of damages against anyone who brings a libel suit and fails to prove it. That would be treating the libel racket as the blackmail which it actually is. If one stood to lose \$250,000 as well as win it, [everyone] would think twice before starting anything."

Censorship and the Films

It is very interesting to note that last year in Fascist Germany the most popular films were those coming from the democratic countries: America and France. German film concerns produced ninety-five full length films and in all, including foreign, 166 cinemas were shown throughout the nation. Thirty-four were American films, fifteen Austrian, and ten French. Of the three longest-running films two were American and one French. German films, despite the fact that the German gov-

ernment took over control of the cinema industry, were unable to compete successfully with foreign ones.

German films have been very successful, however, in places where German influence has spread. In Insurgent Spain for instance, German films have superseded French films in importance and drawing-power. In the past, the Spanish market was dominated by French films. Today, German films and also Italian ones, even though inferior in quality, have achieved that domination. The Germans are doing their best to corner the film market in terms of their political objectives. They have been handicapped, to be sure, by the mediocrity of the films of their allies, Italy and Japan, and have been unable to force the German people to spend their money to see such inferior films. At the present time, Germany has offered to lend technical aid to the film industry in both Italy and Japan in hope thereby of improving the quality of their films to such a degree that they will be able to compete successfully with American, French, and English films.

A Challenge

There have been several developments in the world of the cinema which represent interesting and unfortunate manifestations of cultural suppression. In Brazil, for instance, which has become an obvious friend of Mussolini and Hitler in late weeks, the film *The Road Back* has been banned, and certain of the religious scenes of *The Garden of Allah* were eliminated as hostile to Catholic interests, and the end of the film *San Francisco* was completely changed by cutting out the conversion scene in the finale. In connection with such censorship antics, it is amusing to note that Eddie Cantor's picture, *Ali Baba Goes to Town*, is now playing in Berlin, but all mention of Eddie Cantor is eliminated from the program and publicity for the picture. As far as Berlin is concerned, Cantor isn't in the picture, even though every audience roars at him throughout the film.

In Soviet Russia censorship scarcely more intelligent is also to be discovered. The director of the Russian film version of Stevenson's *Treasure Island* has recently been removed from his post because he injected too much sentimentality into the story—at least too much sentimentality of the wrong kind in the eyes of the Soviet censors.

REV. WILLIAM B. SHARP

The Religious Horizon

WHEN Dr. Frank Gavin died on March 20 the Episcopal Church lost her most brilliant scholar, the ecumenical cause of a reunited Christendom lost one of its foremost proponents, and this writer lost the dearest and best friend and the wisest, most understanding counsellor he had in the world. The chair of Ecclesiastical History at the General Theological Seminary will never be filled by a more noted scholar, theologian, teacher and "friend of man" than "Father Frank" as he was affectionately called by a host of friends.

The first ordained Gentile Rabbi in the United States, his knowledge of Jewish theology and rabbinical training gave him an invaluable basis of understanding with Jewish leaders throughout the world. Because of his familiarity with Old Catholic and Eastern Orthodox theology, history, manners and customs, as well as his linguistic abilities and his acquaintance with personalities of every rank in those bodies, Dr. Gavin was virtually "an ambassador at large, representing the American Episcopal Church to these groups." His close intimate contacts with leaders of the Roman Catholic Church, the Federal Council of Churches and other Protestant bodies enabled him to be the most valuable counsellor to the Presiding Bishop's Advisory Commission of Ecclesiastical Relations.

Holding degrees (the most of which were received in course) from several Colleges and Universities and speaking fluently nineteen languages, Dr. Gavin served with distinction on many committees and commissions of importance. Frequently in England and on the Continent, he also traveled to the Far as well as the Near East in the interests of the reunion of Christendom. He gave unstintingly of himself to the World Conference on Faith and Order, the Universal Christian Council on Life and Work, the Commission of the General Convention (Episcopal) on Approaches to Unity, and the World Fellowship of Reconciliation through the Churches. His wide knowledge and deep understanding were frequently consulted by high dignitaries of the Eastern Orthodox as well as the Anglican Church.

While representing the American Episcopal Church on the Anglican Mission to the Balkans, Dr. Gavin received signal honors. The Rumanian Patriarch, His Beatitude Miron Cristea, bestowed upon each of the Commission the Patriarchal Cross, the highest honor in his gift. Dr. Gavin also received the Order of the Star of Rumania from the Foreign Secretary of Rumania, M. Titulescu.

The several books which he wrote preserve much of the thought of Dr. Gavin. The influence exerted by his dynamic personality upon the lives of many close friends will perpetuate his influence. His funeral was indicative of the fact that even in death his ideals and work continue to be effective. The entire faculty and student body of the General Theological Seminary, many priests of the Orthodox Church, a number of Roman Catholic priests and hundreds of laymen of many faiths attended the services.

The burial office was read by Bishop Gardner of New Jersey, and the lesson from Corinthians was read by Dean Fosbroke. Requiem mass was sung by Fr. Granville Williams, rector of the Church of St. Mary the Virgin (where the services were conducted). The superior of SSJE., Fr. Spence Burton, gave absolution, and Archbishop Polycarp of the Rumanian Church said prayers, accompanied by Archbishop Athenagoras of the Greek Church and Bishop Bodhan of the Ukrainian Church. One of the leading Rabbis of the U. S., Rabbi Sidney Tedesche was one of the honorary pall-bearers.

May the soul of this great friend of man, through the mercy of God rest in peace.

The fate of Christianity in that part of Europe in which Dr. Gavin spent so much time and thought, hangs precariously in the balance. What will happen to the Church in Austria is a matter of speculation. The situation in Czechoslovakia is anything but encouraging. What the Nazis will do in both of these countries cannot be predicted. Austrian bishops who have spoken or written favorably to the Anschluss have been denounced by Rome as having "spoken out of turn." Either the Vatican must change its attitude toward the Nazis or the Aus-

trian hierarchy must revise its stand. Else there may come about a split, and the Roman Catholic Church in Austria may become the Austrian Catholic Church. This writer will even venture to say that such a move has been in the mind of "der Fuehrer." Certainly separation from Rome would remove a great deal of the grounds for complaint which the Nazis have against the Roman Catholic Church.

Racial and national minorities in both Austria and Czechoslovakia are bringing pressure not only for political autonomy, but also for religious separation. Religious history is definitely in the making in this part of Europe, perhaps to a degree equal to the days of Huss, Luther and Zwingli.

Revival of Hinduism

The present-day revival of Hinduism is distinctive in that it is under the leadership of a vigorous laity. Such men of world-wide reputation as Gandhiji, Tagore, Radhakrishnan, and Arabindo Ghosh are among the leaders. The priestly order very rarely appears in the scheme at all. These lay leaders insist that there can be no separation of the spiritual and the secular. Religion in India has been woven into life and is a real force. Christianity, if it is to make any real progress in India, must be able to point to conditions different than those which now exist throughout the Western world, where ideals are professed in the Church services but are not practiced to any appreciable extent in daily life.

The teachings of Hinduism are claimed as the basis of such movements as the Fellowship of Faith, Liberal Hinduism and a Universal Religion. Other tendencies emphasize the worth of traditional ideas, when men of modern enlightenment renounce worldly interests either for meditation or for devotion to a public cause. Every movement in the field of social reform in India claims the sanction of religion for radical departures from tradition. In other words Hinduism is being presented as the answer to life's problems, capable of grappling with the challenge of an age of upheaval—of change from ancient to modern ways of living.

THEY SAY

Translations and Quotations from the Press of the World

Extract from an article written by Louis de Brouckere, former Senator and one of the most prominent members of the Belgian Socialist Party, in connection with the debate concerning Japanese aggression during the Congress of the Universal Cooperative Alliance held recently in London:

"Abetting the Crime"

In order to make war it is not enough to be equipped with cynical brutality and criminal will. It is not even enough to have masses of men whom one can lead into butchery. It is necessary to have the material means which are indispensable to modern war and whose abundance or scarcity is decisive for the result of the conflict.

Enormous quantities of metals are necessary. Steel is of prime importance, but copper, nickel, zinc, aluminum and many others are needed too.

Great quantities of cotton are necessary as are coal tar products and wood pulp for the manufacture of explosives.

Oil is needed for the airplanes, tanks and transport of all kinds. Oil is difficult to store up in sufficient quantities and if prevented from being supplied for several months, could considerably weaken the aggressor.

It is well known that Japan lacks all these things, with the exception of steel, almost entirely. Even steel is not manufactured in quantities sufficient to prosecute a major war.

It can continue its criminal enterprise in China only because the Powers—all Powers—daily sell all this that Japan needs to perpetrate its crime. Thus the Powers become the most direct and certain accomplices of the criminal exactly as the dealers in arms sell weapons to the under-world character with the full knowledge of the purpose to which they will be put.

We are all horrified when looking at the moving pictures of the carnage caused by air bombardments. We are only too prone to forget that the governments of the world whose reprehensible actions we do not impede give Japan the means to assassinate children and women—and do it for the profits of the national trade.

We indeed almost entirely forget that in democratic regimes the people are responsible for the acts of their Powers since they are enabled to prevent them. The Congress came to the conclusion that it is necessary to redouble their efforts in influencing public opinion for the re-direction of international politics which have been sinking into the mire in Europe.

This is a necessary and a promising effort. It can give great results as one will see when the time comes to profit from the lessons of the events in Spain.

But this effort is not sufficient. It must be completed by the direct action of every citizen.

I say that Japan lacks almost everything that is necessary to wage war. It must buy abroad all "the raw materials of its aggression," if I may express myself in this manner.

To buy, gold or foreign currency is needed. It has neither capital nor foreign currency abroad. Its reserves would soon be exhausted if it couldn't continually replenish them by exportation.

If, therefore, the friends of peace (President Roosevelt said justly that they constitute nine-tenths of humanity) would stop buying from the perpetrators of the crime, their position would become difficult.

When we buy a Japanese fountain pen which is not expensive (and, by the way, not good) we give the Japanese Government the means to buy a certain number of cartridges. When women buy stockings made of Japanese silk they will see on them, if they look well, the blood of little Chinese children. When we buy a cheap bicycle made in Tokyo it means that the Japanese militarists can obtain a bomb to renew their horrors of aerial bombardment.

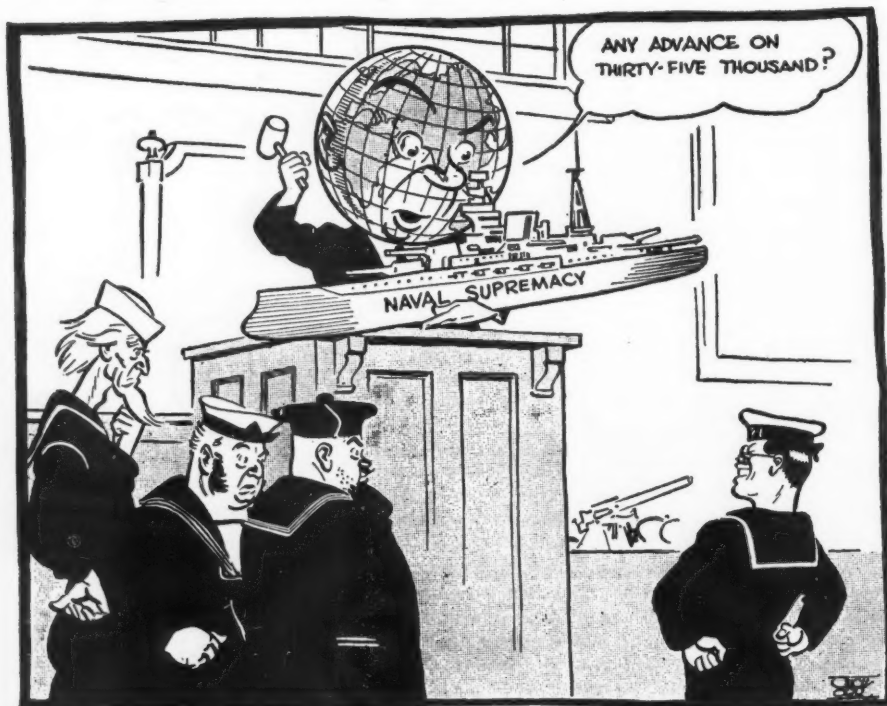
What to do? Very simple. If you find that the aggression is criminal, if you really desire the re-establishment of peace, do not help the aggressor. Refuse to be an accomplice in the crime and don't buy any goods before being sure that they do not come from the aggressors.

This is a very simple conclusion reached by the assembly only after two Internationals—the Labor and the Socialist International—arrived at the same decision.

—Le Peuple, Socialist Daily, Brussels, Belgium.

Ivan the Terrible and Stalin

The personality of the autocrat remains the same throughout the centuries. It has the same vehemence, the same uniformity, and is guided by the same contempt of all measure and mod-



Is HE GOING TO BID?

Glasgow Record

eration. Stalin has not only the same tendencies, but even the same motives as Ivan IV, called the Terrible. The tribunals of both are as native to the soil as the mountains and the rivers. And the parallel, between Stalin and Ivan the Terrible, cannot be purely accidental. It is the expression of the inherent law of Russian rule.



Robinson in the Star, London

SNOW WHITE AND THE DWARFS

Ivan IV announced to the world that there was a conspiracy against him, which in reality never existed. This, however, gave him the pretext to start a blood purge against the boyars, the ruling caste with its aristocratic organs. He banished from his sight the old aristocratic oligarchy, by which he felt constrained, just as Stalin feels constrained by the old guard of the Bolsheviks. He sought to form a new oligarchy from a lower nobility entirely depended upon him. And the old oligarchy was as much surprised when the danger threatened, as was the old guard of the Bolsheviks by the execution squads aiming at them. The boyars helped Ivan climb to the throne, just as Zinoviev and Kamenev lifted Stalin on their shoulders to power after Lenin's death. Cautiously, patiently, shrewdly Ivan went to work. He displayed on his throne the same kindly, smiling, harmless face as Stalin in his soldier's blouse behind his modest desk. "The boyars," wrote the Russian historian Kliuchevsky, "did not suspect anything while the murders were in preparation, and they stood helpless before Ivan; when they finally saw the danger."

And then, writes a chronicler of the time, a great holocaust of cruelty broke out.

"With dogs' heads and brooms on their saddles and quivers," reports Staehlin in his History of Russia, "as symbols of the biting guardians and the creators of order, Ivan's henchmen rode about and waged a war of extermination at the order of their master. Thousands of families were plundered and thrown into misery, many exterminated to the last living soul. The whole following of these nobles were their hunting prey, beginning with the children of the boyars in their service down to the kennel grooms." The Tsar Ivan murdered the boyars with the Holy Scriptures in his hand, just as Stalin murders Bolsheviks while quoting from the writings of Lenin. Just as Stalin is the disciple of orthodox priests, Ivan also knew the liturgies by heart and mumbled them nightly to himself. Ivan saw God's word through his irascible temperament. Ivan's writings show, however, that the Tsar aspired to achieve the united indivisible state with the words of the evangelists, with sayings of the prophets and quotations from the New Testament. It was the struggle against the primitive feudal powers. His murders could therefore "dialectically" and from the "Marxist point of view" be considered as extremely progressive, and nevertheless, because he overbid his "progressivism" he failed, when he became the victim of his imagining conspiracies everywhere and when he saw everywhere around him enemies conspiring with foreign countries. Soon the new friends felt as insecure as the old ones—and the period of Russian turmoils began.

As Ivan was in his time, so is Stalin now, while using the traditional Russian methods, on the road of losing all objective perspective and measure.

He follows the tradition of Russian rule, by exterminating the protagonists, who in accordance with the aims of the Russian Revolution intended to establish the Russian state, Russia's nationalities, on a new federative basis. But he overreaches himself and also makes his new friends tremble. They still agree with him now because he throws at them the old dignitaries of the proletarian dictatorship. The historical meaning of these trials and the murders without trials is the gloomy liquidation of bolshevism, an ignominious liquidation, such as no other revolution ever had in store for its heroes. No record and no song will remain, only the story of murder and strangulation from Byzantium. All enemies of revolutionary socialism can now consider themselves avenged. When could they ever have

gone in their hopes so far, that they not only would destroy their enemies, which, after all, was in the realm of possibility, but to see them in their most abject humiliation, delight in the savor of their "confession" as if they were drops of nectar. And all this in the name of the Revolution itself! The celebrated hero of Soviet justice, the public prosecutor Vyshinsky was, before the Bolsheviks seized power, their bitter enemy. Mikhael Koltsev, the public slanderer of the accused in the "Pravda" was fighting arms-in-hand on the side of the "Whites" during the Civil War. Troyanovsky, who from Washington attacks the victims, was, just as Grinko, the successor of the condemned Sokolnikov and of the executed Pyatkov, member of the anti-Bolshevik armed fighting organizations.



Il 420, Florence

NIGGERS MEET

"You do not even say 'Good Morning' to your friends."

"No, I am in a white mood."

Can anybody imagine a sadder swan-song of the revolution? A more hellish irony than the fact that the "revolutionists" of all countries enthusiastically approve this accusation of treason hurled by Stalin and denied by Trotsky? The enormity of this accusation which resembles a howl from the united insane asylums of the world, is an example of despotism rejuvenated by unbridled power. This accusation is the proof that after a few thousand years of history, which certainly was not lacking in atrocities, man was never more degraded than by what is now

called "victorious socialism." Into all eternity, as long as there are weaker groups, Stalin shouts to the strong, Nero's words: "Before me no prince knew how far he can go."

—Valeriu Marcu in *Das Neue Tage-Buch*, Paris.

Rumania's Royal Dictatorship

When Carol the Second established his non-parliamentary royal dictatorship in Rumania he took a step which wise chiefs of states should not take and which, indeed, wise chiefs of state do not want to take. Having thrown overboard the last vestment of democracy, he stepped frankly and undisguisedly into the political arena. From now on whatever happens in Rumania is quite openly a reflection upon his person and his abilities. Thus he undertakes the largest adventure of his by-no-means unadventurous life. And while judgement was suspended after his former escapades, the test of the present may be definitive.

As far as Carol's former adventures are concerned we need to remember only that he resigned, or was compelled to resign, the succession to the throne twice within the span of eight years.

The first time this happened was in September 1918 when one night he left his garrison to be married in Odessa to a Miss Zizi Lambrino. His father, Ferdinand the First, did not accept Carol's renunciation of the throne. Instead he punished him for breach of military rules with 75 days close confinement. He also had his marriage annulled and declared illegal by a commission of jurists. Carol, however, maintained his renunciation for two years more and did not abandon his bride. He returned to the fold later and married Princess Helene of Greece who presented him with the heir apparent to the throne, Prince Michael. Nothing untoward happened for several years.

Before the son of the recognized marriage reached his fifth birthday, there began the affair with Madame Lupescu. On December 28, 1925 Carol for her sake again renounced the throne. This time, however, it was not by Carol's own volition. While the Queen petitioned for a divorce which was later granted, Ferdinand, supported by Prime Minister Bratianu, a member of the liberal ministerial family, wiped the slate clean. By a decision of Parliament on January 4, 1926 he had the

succession to the throne and the renunciation of all parental power over Prince Michael by Carol finally ratified and legalized. By the same law King Ferdinand had Carol stricken from the lists of the Army and thus for ten years he was prohibited from entering Rumania. He established a Regency Council composed of a Royal Prince, the President of the Supreme Court and the Patriarch of the Rumanian Church which would act in the event that Crown Prince Michael should ascend the throne while still a minor. The Patriarch had then been quite recently



EN ROUTE FROM RUMANIA

Isaac: "Where shall we go now?"

Rebecca: "To the Promise Land."

Isaac: "To Palestine?"

Rebecca: "No, stupid! To France."

created because until February 1925 the Rumanian Church was officially subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople.

Two years after this event the Regency took office upon the death of Ferdinand in July 1927. The six-year-old Michael succeeded his grandfather Ferdinand and the prerogatives of the chief of state fell to the Regency in which the Patriarch Miron Christea, the present Prime Minister, was a member of lesser importance. But the death of Ferdinand was followed in the same year by the death of Jean Bratianu. This gave the banished and dethroned Carol the possibility of withdrawing his renunciation and to prepare more energetically for his return. He was assisted in this aim by the forceful help of the same leader of the National Peasant Party, Maniu, whom he now persistently excludes from the Government. In May 1928 a putsch was attempted in Bucharest in favor of Carol. It miscarried and resulted only in the expulsion of the royal exile from England. However in June 1930 the "National Peasants" received over 90% of

all the seats and Maniu became president. And then one day Carol made his sudden appearance in the country from which he was prohibited by law from entering. In 48 hours his elevation to the throne and the demotion of Prince Michael was just as unanimously approved as was his expulsion four and a half years previously.

When these events are considered one can hardly suspect Carol of any strong inclination to stability nor credit him with any great power of resistance against sudden flighty decisions. The peculiar weakness of his career is hardly over-caution.

Apparently it may really be among Carol's intentions to prevent the Nazi-fication of his country. There is no doubt that one of his guiding ideals is the prevention of the former Iron Guard, now parading under the name "All for the Country," from making further gains. This was also the motive when he appointed the five-sixths Nazi Goga to power on December 28, 1937. Optimists believed that a definite strategy was pursued. However, the more sober minded could never be entirely convinced that Carol had carefully planned and hatched this scheme. To begin with, the policy of "stealing the thunder" or "taking the wind out of the sails" has not succeeded wherever it has been tried. The main weapon in this thunder stealing—the shameful persecution of the Jews—is, by the way, too much of a thing in itself to be considered as a mere means to an end or a lightly wielded political maneuver. Then too it was always a riddle how power could be given to a group representing but 9% of the votes while at the same time maintaining the constitution.

From the first, therefore, there were reasons to doubt that there were really deep hatched plans for the *coup d'état* of December 28.

As this attempt was reversed after several weeks, no matter from what causes, it is now definitely established that the whole thing was nothing but a violent and sputtering improvisation. Now some may believe that the present second attempt is something better than the first, in that it represents greater foresight. Just as the crypto-nazi-six-weeks-episode of Goga, the succeeding Royal Dictatorship of Christea is being officially proclaimed as "A New Era in the History of the Fatherland," and is beginning "As An Extremely Solemn Moment in the History of the Rumanian People." But taking everything into consideration

this construction, which has even less backing than Goga, creates even a smaller impression of solidity and careful planning. It is obvious that the disturbance caused by Messrs. Goga and Cuza in economic life had to be remedied promptly. If it is true what the German press maintained with venomous attacks that on account of foreign policy the intervention of London and Paris greatly contributed to the liquidation of the Goga adventure, this could be praised only as a rare case of decisive action. But outside of the possible consideration of foreign policy, the second coup makes the same impression as the first—of throwing dice.

—*Das Neue Tage-Buch*, organ of the Left Liberal German refugees, Paris.

Concerning the Devil's Work

I refrain from congratulating Hitler on the suppression of *Der Stürmer* until I know that it is really suppressed and not merely banned for the moment on the private understanding that it or its equivalent is to be allowed to continue the filthy work in a few weeks' time. Most people in this country have read something about Streicher's obscene fanaticism, but comparatively few have actually read the paper. I do not think the history of beastliness contains its equal. For Streicher was not content with general nonsense about the Jews betraying Germany in the war and during the Republic, with fake "science" about race contamination and Nordic blood and with the crazy thesis that all international and national troubles of the world throughout history have been due to the Jews. That would only have been mad. But he is also malignant, cruel and obscene. He loved to pillory individuals and to hound unfortunate and obscure men and women to concentration camps. He had a spicy column of personal insults for people who were depraved or brave enough to shake hands with a Jew or to continue their friendship with men whom only a few years ago the German public was delighted to honour. The more salacious, the more detailed the allegations of sexual offences the more satisfying no doubt to Herr Streicher. No law of libel protects the Jew in Germany, no police protect him against private assault and public insult. Why Hitler should have chosen this week to take

action against his old friend, Herr Streicher, I don't know. No one has done more of the devil's work of lying and bamboozling; no one has thought of crueller ways of stopping thought by creating superstition and encouraging thuggery. It may be—I hope it is—that Hitler has at last been convinced that in the present unrest of Germany and with the increasing need of a favourable opinion abroad, Streicher is no longer an asset. I hope so. But I shall not be surprised if the thing appears again very soon on the assumption that foreign opinion is foolish enough to believe anything, forgive anything and forget anything.

—Critic in *The New Statesman and Nation*, London.

Political Refugees

Reports on the number and condition of the refugees from various countries paint a tragic picture. At the end of 1937 the total number of

The socialist refugees number 4,000. More than 1,000 are in France, about 1,200 are in Czechoslovakia, and about 300 are in the Scandinavian countries. The remainder are scattered in other European and extra-European countries.

As terror is being methodically applied to all those who do not adhere to the doctrines of the Third Reich, it must be expected that a large number of persons will continue to attempt to escape from the harsh restrictions.

It must be recognized that regular aid is being given to a considerable number of Socialist refugees by the Labor and Socialist International, the International Trade Union Federation and affiliated organizations in the various countries.

The following has been submitted to the Commission concerning refugee scientists and university professors: 2,500 have been dismissed for political or racial reasons, about 1,900 of whom went abroad. Of those about one-



Birmingham Gazette

There was a young Lady of Riga, who went for a ride on a Tiger . . .

refugees was estimated at 150,000, of which approximately 130,000 are Jews. The remainder are political refugees or persons who left Germany after the enforcement of the race laws promulgated at Nuremberg.

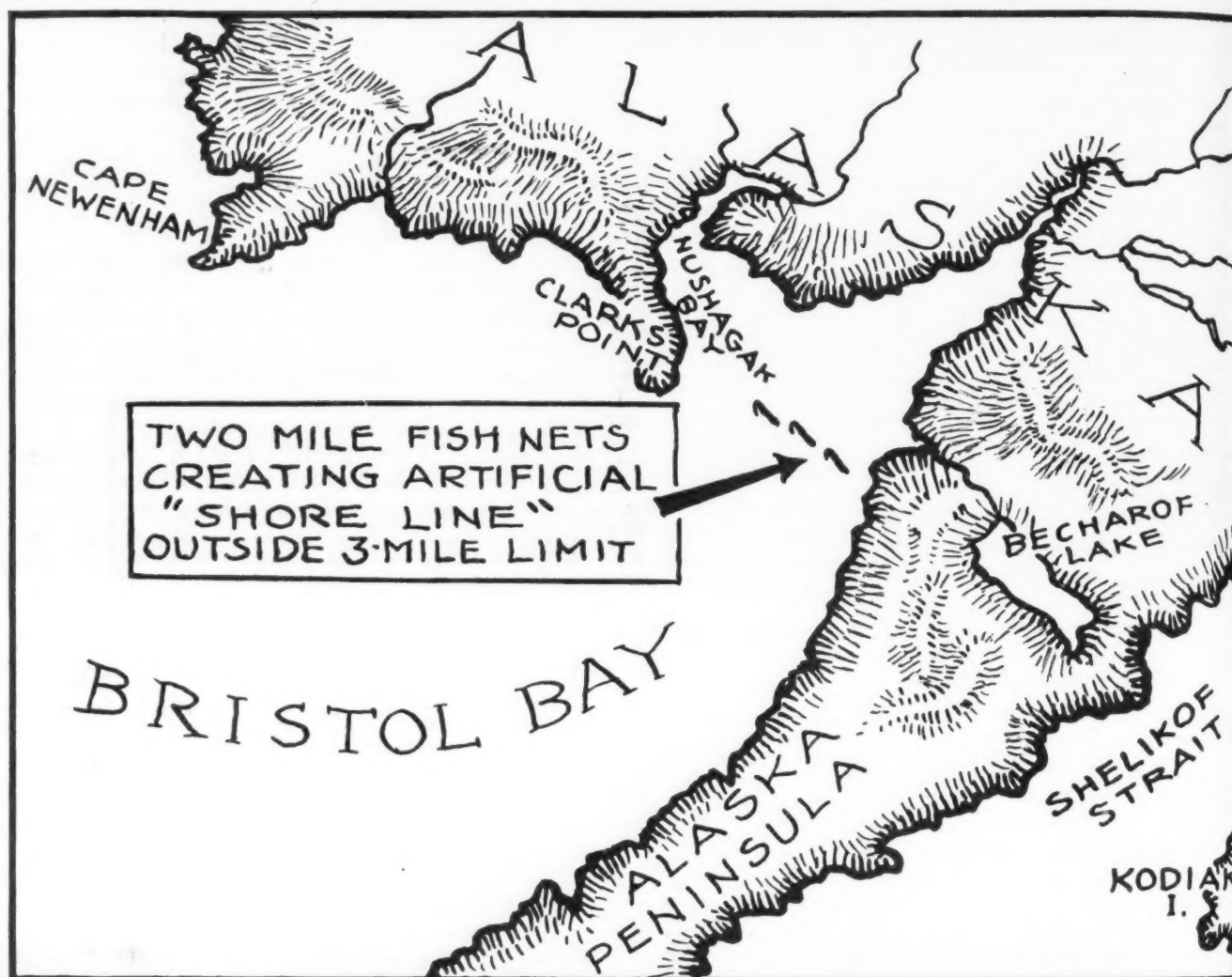
All categories of refugees are increasing constantly while the conditions for their admission to asylum countries become continually more unfavorable. In spite of considerable emigration to Palestine and to countries over-seas, forty to fifty thousand are still in Europe. A small number only have found means of subsistence and a considerable number live in abject misery.

half found new occupations. England received the greatest number of German scientists. Turkey and the United States are in second place. The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has by now expelled almost all German scientists including those who went to that country motivated by idealistic impulses.

A further increase in the number of German scientists who must leave Germany is expected. In fact, at present, only professors who are members of the Nazi Party are tolerated in institutions of higher learning.

—Paul Hertz in *Journal des Nations*, February 10, Geneva.

The Camera's Story of History-in-the-Making



JAPANESE FISHING DISPUTE

SALMON, say doctors, is the most perfect fish food. It contains phosphorus for mental energy (the familiar theory that fish is a "brain food" has a sound basis as far as salmon is concerned), protein for muscle and tissue building, fats for energy, minerals for regular body functions, and vitamins for physical well-being.

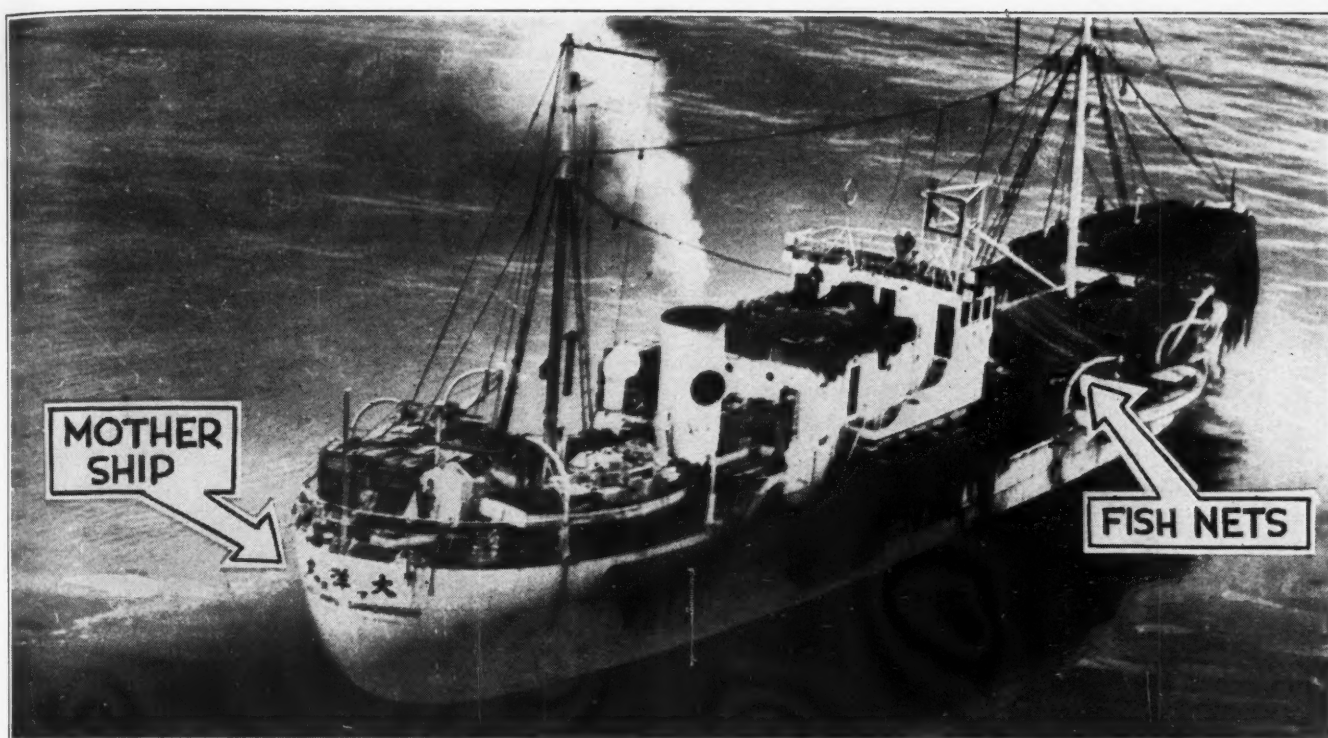
The Japanese, in whose diet fish plays as important a part as rice, have long envied the plentiful supply of salmon available to Americans. Unsuccessful themselves in creating large local salmon hatcheries, the Japanese have sent fishing vessels to Alaskan waters outside the three-mile limit. Using heavy two-mile nets, high-powered Japanese boats have taken back to Nippon hundreds of thousands of salmon, food of foods in the eyes and appetites of all natives. Again and again, the boats have raided Alaskan waters, stretching their nets across the entrance to Bristol Bay (see map), and preventing the salmon from returning to American fresh water streams from which they have come and where they spawn and die.

Instinct of salmon to return to the clear-water spawning places is one of the most amazing of all nature's vast phe-

nomena. Spawned in fresh water, salmon (most desirable of five species of the fish is red salmon) spend a year or two in local waters before heading out to sea. A couple of years later, having wandered far and wide, the salmon head for home on a direct line, regardless of its distance from the spawning grounds. It is on the "run" home that they are intercepted by Japanese fishing nets.

Protesting against the Japanese salmon raids are the Coast fisheries groups, nucleus of an industry that employs 30,000 people, does a volume of business amounting to \$50,000,000 a year. They appealed to the United States Government, when the raids were first observed more than a year ago, claimed that the Japanese fishing boats were engaging in "theft," pointed out that the Nipponese used nets as long as three miles while Americans were forbidden by law to cast nets larger than 900 feet, and predicted that the entire Coast salmon industry would be ruined within a few years if the foreign boats were not curbed.

Acting upon these protests, the Federal Government last year sounded out Japan as to whether these boats operated with the knowledge and consent of the Tokyo authorities.

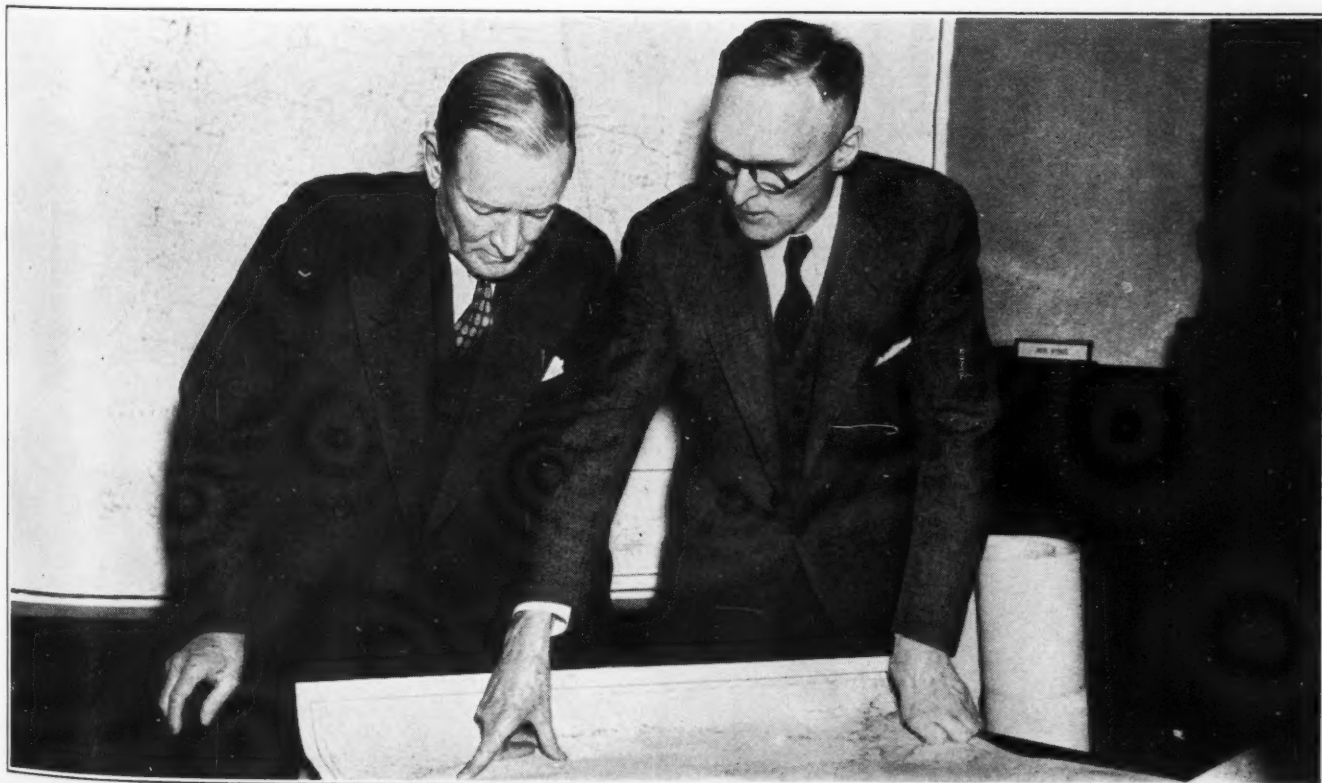


This photograph, showing the Japanese fishing boats in the waters of Bristol Bay, was taken from the air.

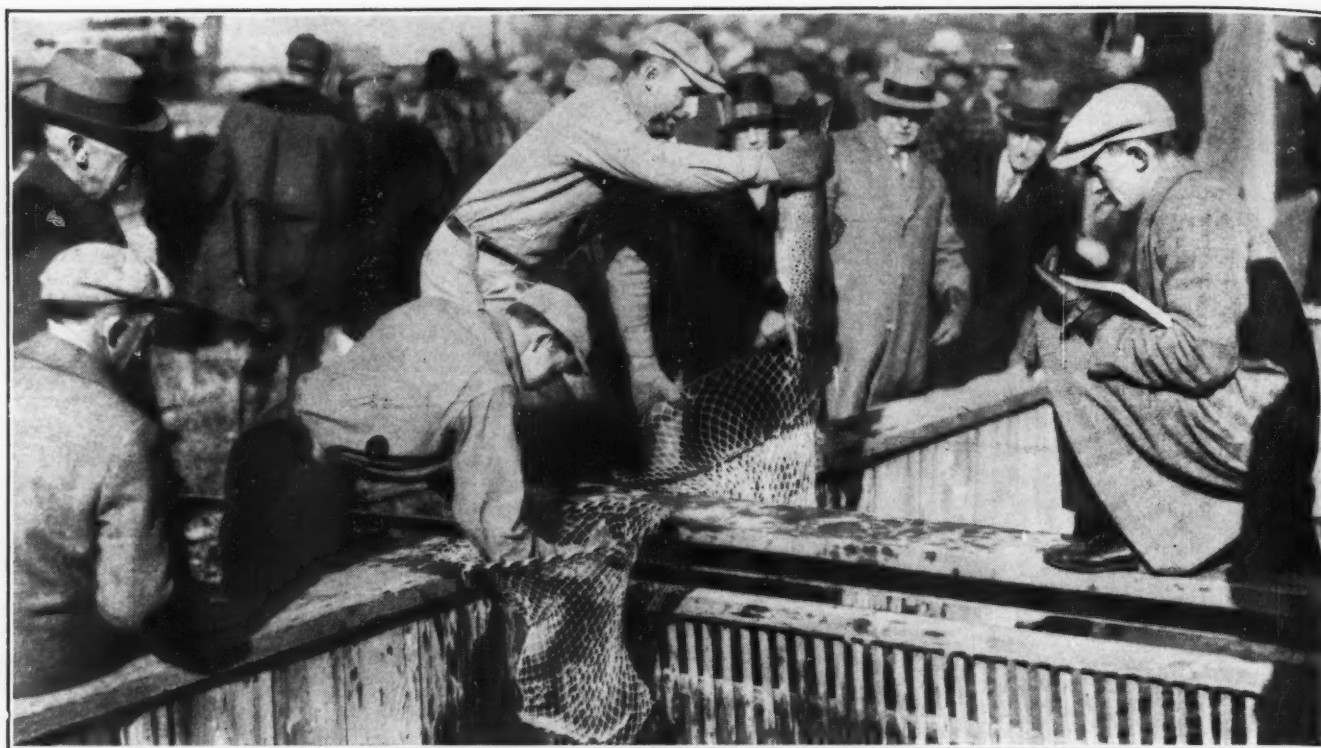
Japan disclaimed all responsibility for the raids, saying that no licenses were granted to Japanese boats for the purpose of salmon fishing in Alaskan waters. The Japanese would not, however, discontinue their "fishing survey" near Alaska, they said, nor would they halt in any way their crab-fishing operations. The fishing survey had started in 1936 and was to continue for a three-year period for the purpose of collecting data on the salmon resources in Bristol Bay. Coast fishermen were willing enough to allow the Japanese to fish for crabs and even monopolize the industry

if they wished (crab-fishing is tedious work, the processing is comparatively expensive), but charged that the Japanese fishing survey was in reality part and parcel of a salmon-raiding expedition. They furnished Federal officials with proof in the form of photographs of Bristol Bay, taken from an airplane, showing Diesel-powered trawlers aboard which were long salmon fishing nets.

Once again (November 22, 1937), the United States Government protested to Japan, citing these photographs in addition to numerous affidavits as conclusive evidence



Thomas Riggs, former Governor of Alaska, and Congressional Delegate A. J. Dimond of Alaska, point to salmon-raiding territory.



Even salmon are entered in contests. There are five types of salmon, red salmon being considered the best.

that Japanese boats were engaging in salmon fishing, contrary to Nippon's earlier assurances regarding its refusal to grant such licenses. Moreover, said the State Department, the Japanese "survey" always seemed to be in operation during the salmon season. The note declared that the "American Government believes that the right of obligation to protect the Alaska salmon fisheries is not only overwhelmingly sustained by conditions of their development and perpetuation but that it is a matter which must be regarded as important. . . ."

On March 26, 1938—four months after this protest was filed with the Japanese Government, during which time the salmon dispute broke on the floor of Congress—Japan backed down and, though it denied official responsibility for the salmon raids, offered fairly strong assurances that it would prevent Japanese boats from further salmon fishing in American waters. Moreover, the Japanese Government consented to discontinue its "survey" (the survey would expire this year according to the original plans) and would set up machinery to "prevent any such further operations."



Fish and Game Commissioner George Stobie exhibits two beauties.



The lone angler, using no nets, has caught a full basket.

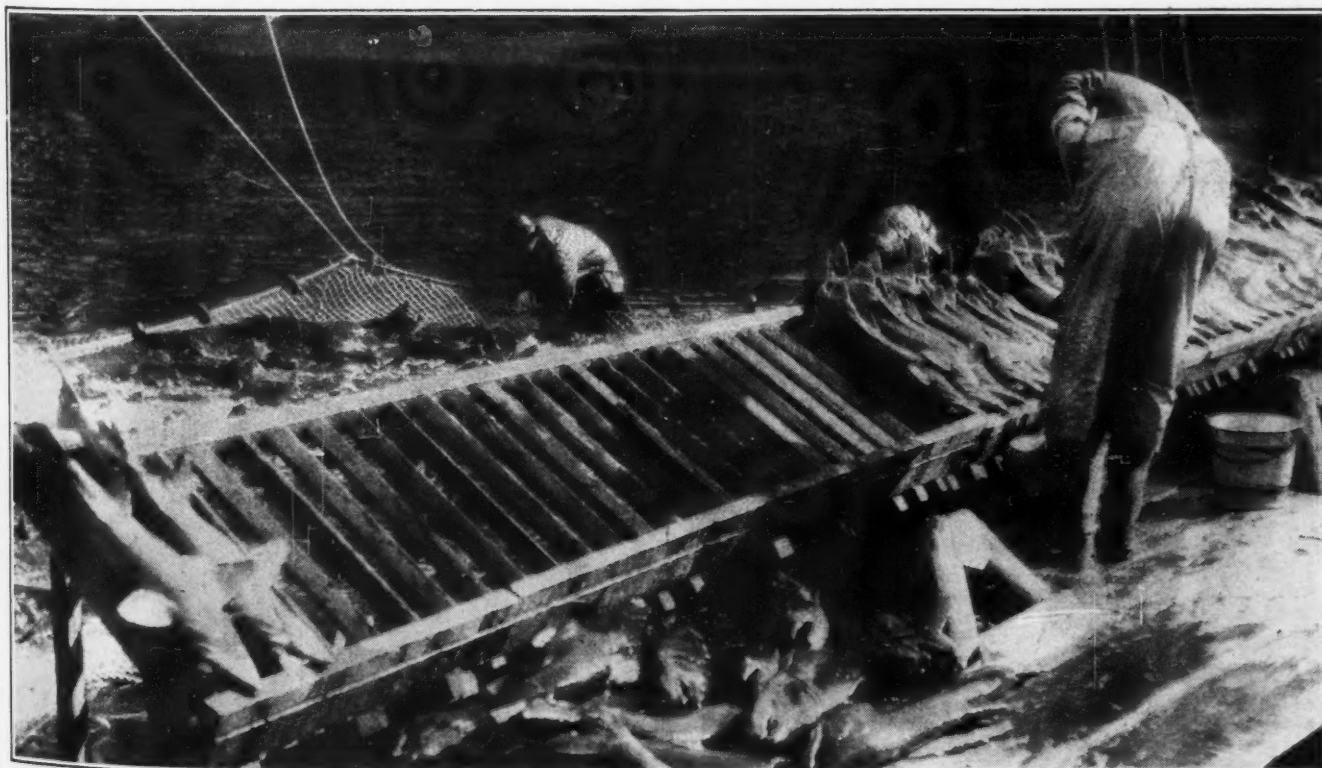


Oldtimers' Day at Raymong, Maine, where each year a "salmon sweeping," with appropriate ceremonies, is held.

Though pleased with the new assurances given by Japan, American fishermen are not diminishing their efforts to outlaw definitely Japanese fishing expeditions in Alaskan waters. Under their sponsorship a bill has been introduced in Congress which declares that salmon spawned and hatched in the waters of Alaska are the property of the United States, and extends jurisdiction of the Federal Government over all national waters in the disputed territory. Regardless of whether the act becomes law, fishermen have declared that further salmon poaching by Japanese will be

the signal for "taking the law into our own hands." They would drive out the Japanese by force of arms, if necessary, they recently told a Congressional committee.

The fisheries dispute is one of the few occasions on which Coast labor and capital have been able to agree. In the face of a threat to the industry as a whole, unions and employers have banded together and have adopted a mutual line of attack. A more ominous note is the charge that many Japanese fishing boats are designed for conversion into mine-layers or torpedo craft.



View of the Government salmon hatchery on a branch of the Cowlitz River, in the State of Washington.

ADULT EDUCATION

THE WPA Adult Education Program attacks directly the problem of illiteracy. Indirectly it attempts to satisfy the desire among an ever increasing number of Americans for self-improvement. The New York City project alone, since its inception two years ago, has registered over 200,000 adults in some 35,000 classes. And the New York project, if not a typical example of adult education, is, perhaps, the most interesting.

More than 50,000 illiterates attended classes in elementary and general English for foreign-born in the New York area. Although numerically but one-fifth of the estimated illiterates among the city's population, they nevertheless represent a good beginning toward the building of more literate American citizenship. But the reduction of illiteracy, though the basic and tangible achievement of the program, is, however, merely one prosaic function among many others. Adult education has been made available to all through the facilities of the WPA Program. It is for adults of any age, scholastic achievement, or interest level. It is informal, and characterized by its catholicity and adaptability.

The Adult Education Program provides, first of all, some solution to the personal adjustment problems. Women are offered competent instruction in home making, family budgets, marketing for the kitchen, personal hygiene, buying clothes for children, neighborhood relationships, and civic responsibilities.

Occupational adjustment problems, although basically individual in character, are also attacked by the Adult Education Program along a broad front. The mature student is trained for new occupations, re-educated to meet the changes in rapidly developing industrial technologies, and acquainted with placement methods and agencies. The WPA Program places emphasis upon the discussion and



Between shines this WPA student does his homework.

study of contemporary affairs in order to stimulate interest in modern social problems.

Nor is learning for the sake of knowledge neglected by the Program. Here the adult finds a limitless range. The Program offers instruction on philology, astronomy, epistemology and modern American verse, science and religion, and any other subject to which a sufficient number of people are ready to bring an intellectual interest. But most important of all the Program's work are the recreational activities



Students learning to sew for the family.



Free cooking class under the supervision of a WPA teacher.

of an educational character. Numerically, this phase ranks second in popularity to "useful" study. It covers all of those spare-time activities that recreate, restore and retain the enthusiasms, and the mental and physical health of the adult.

Many qualified observers have credited the Adult Education Program as one of the outstanding accomplishments of the New Deal. It is a program new to the country although long needed. It is mass education for that part of

the population past high school age. And it is paradoxical that America could afford it only in the years of economic depression. The question now is whether America will be able to afford it in a period of economic normalcy? Judging from its present popularity, the Program will be continued. In the forefront of those advocating its continuance are many who believe that there is no better way to insure the future of democracy than through the education of the electorate.



Store Promotion and Advertising class available to all adults over 17 years of age.



Afternoon tea party for neighborhood mothers where inexpensive cooking is discussed.

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, Mar. 4-Apr. 1

DOMESTIC

MARCH 4—President Roosevelt authorizes publication of a memorandum from two directors of TVA saying they could no longer work with their co-director, Chairman Arthur E. Morgan, and suggesting that he retire to private life. The President, on the fifth anniversary of his inauguration, declares that "the old Ship of State is on the same course."

Robert H. Jackson is confirmed as Solicitor-General by a Senate vote of 62 to 4. President Roosevelt says that he favors publicity on salaries of over \$15,000 and that he believes the public needs such facts.

MARCH 6—Senator Borah declares that economic boycotts are dangerous and tend to cause strong feeling between countries which could easily lead to war. The Senator urges that the movement to boycott Japanese products in the United States be abandoned.

MARCH 7—John L. Lewis enters Thomas Kennedy in the Pennsylvania Democratic primary, putting labor to a political test. Navy Bill is called blanket power for President Roosevelt's foreign policy by Republican minority of House group.

MARCH 8—The Interstate Commerce Commission grants increases in railroad freight rates. Experts of the Association of American Railroads estimate the increase to be upward of \$175,000,000, instead of the \$469,000,000 applied for by the railroads. In contrast to the experts' estimates, Commissioner Joseph B. Eastman implied that the total would be \$270,000,000 and said that that amount was what the railroads needed.

Richard Whitney & Co. is suspended by the New York Stock Exchange for insolvency. A Stock Exchange statement declares that Mr. Whitney, head of the suspended company and five times president of the Exchange, has been summoned to face charges, on March 17, along with his two partners, of "conduct apparently contrary to just and equitable principles of trade."

President Roosevelt summons all three directors of the TVA to the White House on March 11, to be present at an investigation of his own into the facts behind the long-standing dispute within the Administration on the TVA.

Attorney-General John J. Bennett Jr. tells Governor Lehman and the New York State Legislature that milk distributors' profits range from 13 to 27 percent of their costs, with the prices "dictated" by a small group in New York.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull declares that Great Britain and the United States understand each other on the Pacific Island claims.

MARCH 9—The "third basket" surtax on closely held or family corporations is badly defeated in the House by vote of 180 to 124. New sources of revenue are being sought by Representatives.

Senator Bridges assails Lilienthal as a "Hitler" and demands a Congressional inquiry on the TVA.

MARCH 10—Richard Whitney is indicted for theft of \$105,000 in securities by Thomas E. Dewey.

The House of Representatives places a levy on pork imports and votes liquor tax rise to replace "third basket."

MARCH 11—Arthur E. Morgan refuses to submit evidence to the President to support charges against his fellow-directors. He insists upon a Congressional investigation.

After three hours of continuous voting, the Tax Bill is passed by the House 294 to 97.

MARCH 14—Experts of the Treasury estimate the Tax Bill \$20,000,000 short and suggest that the Senate restore the "third basket" levy.

MARCH 15—Mr. Roosevelt indicates that consolidations will be forced upon the railroads, if necessary to solve their problem.

John L. Lewis paints a gloomy picture of America in his broadcast to Great Britain, saying that the United States is drifting to an economic collapse.

MARCH 16—The Income Tax yield for March 15 shows an increase of 18% over last year with a total of \$615,947,718.

Leaders of the American Federation of Labor, including William Green, visit the White House and agree to work for a wage bill.

A tornado in the Mississippi Valley affects 8 States and kills 22.

MARCH 17—Secretary of State Hull, in an international broadcast, says that we stand for peace but will not retreat before anarchy.

The I. C. C. group is named by the President to report rail legislation in a week's time for prompt action by Congress.

MARCH 18—The President gives TVA Chairman A. E. Morgan until Monday at 1:30 P.M. to give facts supporting his charges.

The House of Representatives, putting the final touches on the \$1,120,000 Navy Bill, votes for a minimum air force of 3,000 planes.

MARCH 19—In a nationwide broadcast, Secretary of State Hull assails Hitler's methods in annexing Austria while granting de facto recognition to the new regime.

MARCH 21—Trouble within the TVA moves rapidly to a climax as President Roosevelt hands down an ultimatum that Chairman A. E. Morgan either retract his charges of dishonesty, which he has made against his associates, resign, or be removed from office. A. E. Morgan immediately defies the ultimatum.

The House passes the Administration's \$1,121,546,000 Naval Construction Bill, the second largest "peace-time" naval authorization in United States history by 292 to 100. Quick Senate action is being planned.

MARCH 22—A. E. Morgan is dismissed by the President from the TVA. Mr. Roosevelt takes this action with the opinion of the Department of Justice that he has ample power to remove Mr. Morgan.

Harcourt Morgan is appointed A. E. Morgan's successor.

MARCH 23—President Roosevelt, speaking before 20,000 people, declares that a selfish few delay national prosperity.

MARCH 24—The Senate Finance Committee eliminates the Profits Tax and modifies the capital gains levy.

The Byrd plan to retain the Controller-General in fund control is defeated in the Senate by 47 to 36.

The United States agrees with Great Britain to evoke the escalator clause against Japan and build bigger warships.

MARCH 25—The Senate Finance Committee restores the present estate and gift taxes to the revenue bill.

Tokyo agrees to curb her nationals in settlement of the Alaskan fishing dispute.

The Senate votes resolution for a joint investigation of the TVA as amendments widen scope of inquiry.

MARCH 27—The Senate is flooded with thousands of telegrams in opposition to the Reorganization Bill on the eve of final vote.

MARCH 28—The Reorganization Bill is passed in the Senate by vote of 49 to 42. The Bill is then sent to the House where there is a sharply divided opinion.

Colonel Edward M. House, wartime advisor to Woodrow Wilson, dies at the age of 79 in New York.

MARCH 29—A substitute for the Reorganization Bill is drafted by House leaders. The House passes the Army Bill, representing a rise of \$32,853,130 over last year's Bill.

The Senate Committee votes approval of the Glass Bill for expansion of RFC powers to grant loans.

MARCH 30—Tornadoes kill 19 and injure hundreds of others in five Midwestern States.

House of Representatives approves a Senate resolution that provides for a joint investigation of the TVA.

MARCH 31—The Senate Tax Bill, now completed, adds an estimated \$23,000,000 to yield of the House measure.

The House amendments are accepted by the Senate on the TVA inquiry as Republicans try to place Bridges on the Committee.

APRIL 1—Administration leaders suffer setback as 100 Democrats revolt and join with 91 others to vote against limitation of Reorganization Bill debate.

The F. C. C. receives a report suggesting a 25% cut in phone rates. The report is the result of a study over a three-year period by Commissioner Paul A. Walker under mandate of Congress.

INTERNATIONAL

MARCH 4—Premier Hodza of Czechoslovakia warns Germany that his people will make any sacrifice to defend their independence.

MARCH 5—Two Pacific Islands and Byrd's Antarctic discoveries are claimed by the President for the United States.

Great Britain sends terms of friendship to Italy. Spain is held to be the main question.

MARCH 9—German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop reaches London; demands five concessions from Great Britain.

MARCH 11—Nazis seize Austria after Hitler ultimatum forces Schuschnigg to resign. Dr. Arthur Seyss-Inquart, newly-ap-

pointed Chancellor, requests that Germany send troops to preserve order.

Italy refuses to cooperate with Great Britain and France for the support of Austria.

MARCH 12—Adolf Hitler enters Austria in triumphal parade. In a speech at Linz, he proclaims the unity of Austria and Germany and defies the world to break that unity.

MARCH 13—Austria is formally incorporated into the German Reich despite previous assurances by Hitler that she would retain her independence.

President Wilhelm Miklas is forced out of office. By proclamation, Hitler assumes office as Chief of State of Austria and takes command of her armed forces. *Anschluss* makes Hitler ruler of an Empire of 73,000,000 people.

Hermann Goering voices warning to Europe that the Reich extends protection to all Germans, whether or not they live within German borders.

MARCH 18—18,000 Mexican oil workers seize the properties of 17 U. S. and British companies.

MARCH 27—The United States Treasury stops buying Mexican silver in retaliation for oil seizures.

Mussolini warns France that armed intervention in Spain would threaten peace in Europe.

MARCH 29—Great Britain, France and the United States tentatively agree on 41,000-ton battleships.

MARCH 30—The United States demands, as does Great Britain, that Mexico pay for expropriated oil holdings.

APRIL 1—President Lazaro Cardenas, in a note to Cordell Hull, promising to settle all obligations, eases tension and gives the Secretary of State hope of an early agreement.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR

MARCH 5—Rebel aircraft bomb Barcelona seven times in 24 hours, killing 39 and wounding 55.

MARCH 6—The *Baleares*, a Rebel cruiser, is torpedoed by a Loyalist destroyer off the coast of Spain during a hard battle. British ships effect the rescue of about 400 while nearly 500 die.

MARCH 7—Insurgent planes raid Cartagena five times in retaliation for the sinking of their warship.

MARCH 9—Insurgent forces launch a drive on a 70-mile front north of Teruel.

MARCH 10—Rebel troops occupy Belchite after a 15-mile gain but are checked at Madrid.

MARCH 15—Loyalist forces are in a desperate plight as Insurgents press to within 30 miles of the Mediterranean. Premier Negrin flies to Paris to seek eleventh-hour aid from France. Barcelona denies rumors of unrest.

MARCH 16—Barcelona suffers from eight air raids up to 2 A.M. with more due.

MARCH 17—A total of 12 air raids by Rebel planes kill over 1,000 in Barcelona. 1,100-lb. bombs drop in city streets.

MARCH 20—Loyalists form new defense lines on the Aragon front while Rebel planes raid coastal towns.

MARCH 27—Insurgents invade Catalonia and make gains on all fronts. Loyalist forces are reported fleeing in disorder. Fraga undergoes a heavy shelling in one of Loyalists' hardest days.

MARCH 28—Insurgents besiege Lerida. Barcelona asks for 100,000 volunteers.

SINO-JAPANESE WAR

MARCH 7—Japanese officials report the capture of Puchow, terminus of the railway from Tatung, and claim all of Shansi.

MARCH 8—Chinese report the recapture of 12 towns behind Japanese lines North of the Yellow River.

MARCH 20—Japanese troops approach to within 27 miles of Suchow and increase southward push in Shantung.

MARCH 22—Chinese save Suchow by driving the Japanese northward. The Communists are only 30 miles from Peiping.

MARCH 27—Chinese drive results in the capture of two cities in Southern Shantung while 50 planes take part in Hankow air raid.

MARCH 31—Chinese officials in Hankow admit that Japan is making headway in Southern Shantung.

FOREIGN

Austria

MARCH 9—Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg calls for a plebiscite on Austrian independence to be held on Sunday.

MARCH 10—Nazi disorders are prevalent in protest against the coming plebiscite.

France

MARCH 10—Camille Chautemps quits as French Premier. Leon Blum attempts to form a Cabinet.

MARCH 12—All army leaves affecting forces guarding the Maginot line are cancelled.

MARCH 13—Leon Blum completes a new Popular Front Ministry. Paul-Boncour accepts a Cabinet position.

MARCH 16—British pledge of Mediterranean naval aid is won.

MARCH 23—Officials rush completion of port for seaplanes in Corsica while the Foreign Minister warns Senators of war perils.

MARCH 31—President Lebrun is asked to form a government of "public safety" by French war veterans.

Germany

MARCH 6—Walther Funk, new Nazi Economic Minister, appeals to the United States for an improvement in American-German trade relations. He proposes international plan as basis for stabilizing currencies.

MARCH 8—Former President Herbert Hoover, in a meeting with Adolf Hitler, expresses doubt that National Socialism will succeed.

MARCH 11—Troops, 50,000 strong, move toward Austrian border.

MARCH 14—Thousands in Vienna applaud Hitler's entrance.

Former Chancellor Schuschnigg of Austria is placed under arrest. Anti-Jewish feeling grows rapidly.

MARCH 15—In a speech before a large Vienna crowd, Adolf Hitler formally announces the incorporation of Austria into Germany. After his speech, Hitler reviews a military parade and returns to Munich. Seyss-Inquart is appointed Reich Statthalter (Governor) of Austria.

MARCH 16—Major Emil Fey, former Vice-Chancellor of Austria, commits suicide.

MARCH 18—Chancellor Hitler, before a cheering Reichstag, defends his actions in

Austria, saying that he saved many lives. Hitler also praises Mussolini, and says that he will respect Italy's borders.

MARCH 23—Hitler takes command of the Austrian flotilla and orders the building of a new war fleet on the Danube.

MARCH 24—Buerckel begins Austrian plebiscite campaign. He attacks Jews and mocks Schuschnigg.

MARCH 25—Hitler declares that the Reich will again act across her borders if it becomes necessary.

MARCH 26—Hermann Goering is acclaimed in Vienna. In a wildly cheered speech, he warns all Jews that they must leave Austria. He also says that the court will take up Schuschnigg's fake plebiscite.

MARCH 29—Before an audience of 25,000 in Vienna, Dr. Joseph Goebbels says that Germany no longer fears France.

Great Britain

MARCH 4—Navy estimate of 123,707,000 pounds is submitted to Parliament for use in the coming fiscal year. Two capital ships are included.

MARCH 7—Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain wins approval of the House of Commons for his foreign policy. The Commons voted to reject a labor motion to amend the bill implementing the huge rearmament program but subsequently voted approval of Chamberlain's foreign policy statement.

MARCH 18—United States Ambassador Kennedy warns Great Britain that no nation can count upon American neutrality or American participation in another war. Whatever course Americans follow, he declares, will be guided "primarily on the firm ground of national interest."

MARCH 23—Chamberlain talks with trade union leaders to urge cooperation for British rearmament.

MARCH 24—Prime Minister Chamberlain warns that Great Britain would help France in time of war. He refuses to pledge aid to Czechoslovakia but warns that war cannot be limited.

MARCH 25—British unions and Laborites condemn Prime Minister for not aiding the Loyalists and for refusing to pledge aid to the Czechs.

MARCH 29—The Archbishop of Canterbury heads the pro-Germans in Lords, praising the work of Hitler in annexing Austria.

Italy

MARCH 11—Rome is amazed at Austrian coup. Officials consider the situation too grave to make any statements.

MARCH 16—Mussolini in a speech to the Chamber declares that the Rome-Berlin Axis still remains sound and that he backs Hitler's annexation coup.

MARCH 30—Mussolini praises army and navy power and, in speech to Senate, says that Italy can raise an army of 9,000,000.

Poland

MARCH 17—Polish army, on Lithuanian border, prepares to invade Kaunas unless a favorable answer is received to their ultimatum.

MARCH 19—Poland's demands are met by Lithuania. Threat of war ceases. All Poland expresses gladness over their little neighbor's decision. The Government's desire now is to form a Baltic Entente.

Travel

READING AROUND THE WORLD

By MALCOLM LA PRADE*

WHEN one speaks of "must" travel-books for any season, the old inevitably joins hands with the new—for, brilliant as is this season's crop of books, there are timeless classics which tug at the conscience of the reviewer and insist on being mentioned. Asked to suggest twenty outstanding travel-books for 1938 reading, I have tried to divide the number just about equally—half, new books of this winter and spring, and half, books published in past seasons but still, in their perennial lure for the traveler, as fresh as tomorrow's sailing!

Although it was not the author's intention in writing it to produce a travel book, my selection for the Travel-Book-of-the-Spring-Season is definitely *The Arts* by Hendrik Willem Van Loon. To a travel man the spring season is the time of the year when thousands of Americans, attacked by "wanderlust," turn their thoughts and imaginings toward Europe. For the armchair tourist, or his more active brother who actually holds a reservation on some transatlantic liner, Mr. Van Loon's book is a godsend. Here at last is a delightfully readable and unacademic history of architecture, painting, sculpture, music and many of the minor arts which play such an important part in almost every conceivable scheme of Old World travel. The author divests himself of the expert's point of view and writes as an "amateur" for other and less accomplished "amateurs." (I am using the word "amateur," of course, in the French sense, meaning "one who appreciates deeply though he may practice casually.") Both as a travel-man and an "amateur," I have great pleasure in congratulating Hendrik Willem Van Loon on giving us the Travel Book of the Season, and I earnestly recommend it to anyone thinking of Europe or planning to go there.

Up with the gang-plank and, almost

before we know it, "Land ho!" for the coast of Ireland—vividly and poetically brought to life in *My Ireland* by Lord Dunsany, a volume of the new "My Country" Series inaugurated by Funk and Wagnalls. "I shall tell of the Ireland that I know best," writes the author, and that is the Ireland of A. E. and the Abbey Players, of Tara rising up like music and the folk that come out at evening to dance on the raths, of young poets and old myths, and above all of the out-of-doors and shooting. Lord Dunsany has distilled, in distinguished and beautiful prose, the spirit that is Ireland and the quality of the Irish mind, the fog and sunshine of the Irish landscape, and the poetic enchantment of the Irish imagination.

Companion volumes are *My Scotland* by A. G. MacDonell and *My Wales* by Rhys Davies, each in its own way a highly interesting justification of the central purpose of the series—in no sense conventional travel books, but each volume intended rather to portray the character and spirit of a distinguished author's own country and people. *My Scotland* sketches in a swift, clear-cut style the moving and dramatic history of Scotland; revealing always a deep love for Scottish character and tradition, yet offering an invigorating and provocative portrait of a people which is at the same time a challenge to the Scot, abroad or at home. In *My Wales*, Rhys Davies throws much light on this picturesque country, still rather mysterious to those not born among its magnificent landscapes; giving a full description of modern life in that miniature but quaint and lively land—its social and cultural activities, its characters, its humors, quarrels and nationalist efforts, its agricultural and industrial life. Above all, an attempt is made, not to "explain" the Welsh people, but to display them, with humour and understanding, as they are today.

Fourth volume of the "My Country" series is *My England* by Edward Shanks. "My England," says this author, "begins in antiquity and I can not think of her without remembering all her past, without dwelling affectionately on the tool-marks countless generations have left on her surface." This deep awareness of history gives a solid foundation on which to base a real understanding of England today, and to this task Mr. Shanks brings the observant eye and analytical mind of the trained novelist—ranging far and wide in his coverage of the English scene, from such venerable and awe-inspiring institutions as Parliament, the Crown, the Constitution and the Civil Service to roast beef, cricket and the minor poets.

Mr. Lucas' Travels

Turning from England-as-a-whole to what is inevitably the heart of England, one may well read, or re-read that classic among travel books, *A Wanderer in London* by E. V. Lucas. Mr. Lucas is second to no living travel-writer in his ability to recreate the individual atmosphere of cities. Mr. Lucas writes of romantic London, aristocratic London, commercial London, galleries, churches, palaces, streets, squares and the zoo—all with rare charm and intimacy.

Crossing the channel, one could not do better than to choose another book by the same author, *A Wanderer in Paris*. This book, now in its nineteenth edition, has been thoroughly revised within recent years, and with its many reproductions of pictures and sculpture, offers an introduction to the beauties and treasures of Paris, as well as to the picturesque atmosphere of the city—its fascination and variety, its color, and its self-containment.

More About France

Another revealing portrait of that "enchanted mistress, Paris, whose

* "The man from Cook's."

moods and manners are as varied as the weather," appears in *From a Paris Scrapbook* by Richard Le Gallienne. This companion-volume to *From A Paris Garret* can be recommended as an intimate, confidential potpourri of a city that is as old as Caesar and as young as Annabella, by the famous poet and writer who has for years made his home there.

Awarded the Prix International du Tourisme by the French Government, *The Face of France* by Harry J. Greenwall takes the reader on a most delightful tour of France, extending throughout the four seasons and covering almost every inch of the country. The author is a witty and charming companion, equally at home in matters historical and gastronomical. We are taken through the north country, where we attend a Norman wedding breakfast lasting from dawn to dusk, and go on fishing expeditions with the weather-beaten Bretons. In leisurely fashion we motor through the chateau country, Touraine, and Provence—and best of all, abandon all modern modes of conveyance and enter on foot many an old town that sleeps peacefully on a hill, seeing thus the true "face of France."

From Salzburg to Scandinavia

This Salzburg by Count Ferdinand Czernin, a lively and entertaining description of the famous old city of Salzburg, now appears in its first American edition, attractively bound in Austrian Dirndl cloth, which subtly suggests the bright peasant costumes of the countryside surrounding Salzburg. The many Americans who have been to this lovely place and reveled in its great musical and dramatic festivals, as well as its charming atmosphere, will welcome this book as a reminder of delightful experiences abroad. Many others who plan to go to Salzburg this summer will find this preview of the town and the life of its people and its foreign visitors enchanting. Mention should be made of the illustrations by Count Eugen Ledebur; pen drawings that are as gay and informal as the author's text.

Agnes Rothery's Scandinavian trio, *Sweden*, *Finland* and *Denmark*, remain, each in its way, classics among travel-books, so completely has the author grasped the spirit of the country. *Sweden: The Land and the People* is an introduction to an unfamiliar land for those who cannot go as far as Bali or Africa to find beauty unspoiled by man or the machine—an introduction, too, to man-made beauty unlike any-

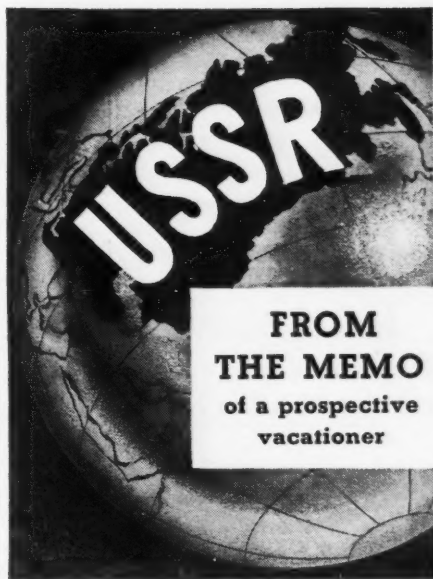
thing to be found on the Continent. Miss Rothery takes the reader from the cities of the South from whose "ancient soil spring up towers and walls of such new rhythm that all the world is traveling to gaze upon them," northward through spotlessly clean little peasant villages, through forests "dark with spruce, glinting with clusters of white birch," across the Arctic Circle where electrified trains from Stockholm lead into the land of the nomadic Lapp and reindeer, where the Sun-symbol is worshiped alongside the Cross in ancient wooden churches. With it all, she gives a comprehensive and stimulating picture of Sweden's remarkable present day achievements, cultural and economic—never losing sight of the social and political evolution which has made them possible. (Similarly, *Finland: The New Nation*, and *Denmark: Kingdom of Reason*, are striking illustrations of this author's ability to make intelligible and real the character of a foreign country.)

Summer in the Soviet

An unusual and entertaining book is *Laughing Odyssey* by Eileen Bigland describing an Englishwoman's summer in the Soviet Union—days in Moscow, Kharkov, Rostov, and the wild regions of the Caucasus. Mrs. Bigland went to Russia with the intention of enjoying herself—and she did. Free from prejudice, gifted with humour and a genuine interest in people (plus a slight knowledge of the language which allowed her to talk with the various types she met) she has produced a high-spirited and delightful chronicle of an adventurous summer. She tells of her experiences in Moscow, of her search for slums in that city, of her visits to Moscow hospitals, to the Park for Culture and Rest, to the theaters, the museums, and the marriage and divorce bureaus. From Moscow she goes on to other cities, where Russia gets more and more into her blood and finally to the Caucasus, where she takes a perilous week's trip through the mountains on horseback, accompanied only by a Cossack guide, sleeps in native huts, sees strange, primitive Caucasian dances, and enjoys the almost incredible beauty of the country.

Along the Nile

Cruising along the sunny Mediterranean, one finds a book that really gives the magical history of Egypt in *The Nile: The Life Story of a River*, by Emil Ludwig. This deserves to be placed in the front rank of travel books.



April 25, 1938.

SOVIET UNION -- Crack express *Wagon-Lit* from Paris through to Moscow. Maybe the steamer from Hay's Wharf at London Bridge via Baltic to Leningrad. Fine hotels, good service, excellent food. Besides Leningrad and Moscow, interesting trips if time: Down the Volga River - Rostov, in the Don region - Trip through Caucasus Mountains to old Tbilisi (Tiflis) and to Baku on the Caspian - Then to Batumi and along the Black Sea "Riviera" by motor vessel - Crimea, luxurious rest-homes, good beaches -- Choice of going north to Dnieproges Dam and to Kharkov or to Odessa and up to Kiev, capital of Ukraine - good trains from here to Western Europe on way home.

Rates include hotels, meals, all transportation on tour, sightseeing by car and experienced guide-interpreters for \$5 a day third class, \$8 tourist and \$15 first. Literature from Intourist, Inc., especially 60 page general "Baedeker" of Soviet tours No. C-5.

P. S. If we're there in August we'll see the great All-Union Agricultural Exposition -- biggest ever.

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<i>My Scotland</i>	A. G. MacDonell	Funk and Wagnalls
<i>My Ireland</i>	Lord Dunsany	Funk and Wagnalls
<i>My England</i>	Edward Shanks	Funk and Wagnalls
<i>My Wales</i>	Rhys Davies	Funk and Wagnalls
<i>From a Paris Scrapbook</i>	Richard LeGallienne (Introduction by William Rose Benet)	Ives Washburn
<i>Sweden: The Land and the People</i>	Agnes Rothery	Viking
<i>First Penthouse Dwellers of America</i>	Ruth Underhill	Augustin
<i>This Salzburg!</i>	F. Czernin	Greystone
<i>Australia Advances</i>	David M. Dow	Funk and Wagnalls
<i>Notes on a Drum</i>	Joseph Henry Jackson	Macmillan
<i>Laughing Odyssey</i>	Eileen Bigland	Macmillan
<i>Invitation to Travel</i>	Helen Dean Fish	Ives Washburn
<i>South by Thunderbird</i>	Hudson Strode	Random House
<i>The Face of France</i>	Harry J. Greenwall	Funk and Wagnalls
<i>Cartoon Guide of Arizona</i>	Reg Manning	Augustin

BOOKS *for* TRAVEL

Selected by

MALCOLM LA PRADÉ

"The Man from Cook's"

The central map shows Europe, the Indian Ocean, and Australia. Dashed lines radiate from a point in Western Europe, connecting to the following book covers:

- MY IRELAND** by LORD DUNSANY (top left)
- MY ENGLAND** by EDWARD SHANKS (top middle-left)
- MY SCOTLAND** by DAVID M. DOW (top middle-right)
- MY WALES** by RHYS DAVIES (top right)
- The FACE of FRANCE** by HARRY J. GREENWALL (middle right)
- SWEDEN** by AGNES ROTHERY (middle left)
- LEUGHING ODYSSEY** (middle right, below The Face of France)
- from a Paris scrapbook** by Richard Le Gallienne (bottom left)
- A WANDERER IN PARIS** by E. V. LUCAS (bottom middle-left)
- AUSTRALIA ADVANCES** by DAVID M. DOW (bottom middle-right)
- THIS SALZBURG!** by F. CZERNIN (bottom right)

Following the Nile from its two sources in Equatorial Africa to the Mediterranean Sea, 4,000 miles distant, Mr. Ludwig reveals the essential character of the great river; and skilfully dramatizes the history of the many races of people who inhabit its banks.

Down Under and the Americas

Australia Advances by David M. Dow is given especial timeliness by the growing importance of Australia in international affairs, and by the close bond of sympathy and mutual respect existing between Americans and Australians. Thirteen years' experience as an Australian Government official in the United States have given Mr. Dow unusual opportunities to contrast the general situation in his homeland (which has met—and solved—certain social and economic problems which America now faces) with conditions in this country. Knowing the temper of both countries, he is able to present to the American reader a clear picture of the great Commonwealth of the South.

Swinging round the Southern hemisphere, we come to that superlatively fine travel-record, *South by Thunderbird* by Hudson Strode, which was, recently, my choice for the outstanding travel-book of the Fall Season. The

author offers a comprehensive and invariably interesting view of South America, as the modern air traveler sees it, and what a splendid panorama it is: mighty Andes, broad pampas, tropical jungles, rivers, lakes, waterfalls, ruins of ancient civilizations, splendid modern cities. Though he travels among the clouds, Mr. Strode comes down to earth to provide intimate and diverting close-ups of our Latin American neighbors, always with a keen understanding of their philosophy and a thorough appreciation of their best qualities. Whether one chooses to fly, to travel by sea or by land, or merely to indulge in "arm chair journeys," to South America, this book is indispensable.

Another dramatic, if less comprehensive, view of South America is found in *Land of Tomorrow* by R. W. Thompson. In this case, the author journeys to the remote inland republic of Paraguay, writes intriguingly about this little-known country, and the famous "Chaco War." Wishing to view that famous dispute from both sides, he also visits Bolivia and describes that country with equal fluency and understanding. Here, again, is a fine acquisition to "South Americana."

Guatemala has its due in *Notes on a Drum: Travel Sketches in Guatemala*, by Joseph Henry Jackson. Immensely picturesque and colorful, primitive yet readily accessible, this hitherto little-known corner of the world is beginning to compete with its next-door neighbor, Mexico, as a tourist country. In the informal, easy fashion of his *Mexican Interlude*,

Joseph Henry Jackson now covers this "Switzerland of the Americas." From the pagan rituals and the echoes of drums in the hills, to the shouts of Caribs loading bananas in the hot coastal ports, he misses none of the abounding life and incredible color of Guatemala.

Of such intriguing material as buried treasure, slave revolts and hurricanes, with a liberal allowance of tropical scenery and atmosphere, Hamilton Cochran constructs *These Are the Virgin Islands*. The result is a highly entertaining book which can be recommended as a "bon voyage" gift to cruise travelers bound for the Caribbean. As a matter of fact, after reading certain chapters dealing with pirate gold, this reviewer was inclined to buy a pick and shovel and book passage on the next ship bound for St. Thomas.

Cuba and Bermuda

Not far distant are two other island paradises, Cuba and Bermuda and here again Hudson Strode, author of *South by Thunderbird* has done two excellent and vivid travel-books. In *The Pageant of Cuba* the pageant begins when the gentle-spirited, naked natives crept to the shore to watch the arrival of ships they thought had come from heaven—ships bringing Columbus and the heavy-armed Spaniards, who bore Christian commissions and an unconscionable lust for gold. It proceeds through all of Cuba's colorful and pulse-racing history down to the present. But whatever quality of tropical background, whichever political party is in or out, Mr. Strode has stressed

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Questions and Answers

Questions on Page 4

1. Congress is obliged to meet at least once a year.
2. There are 435 members in the lower house of Congress.
3. Congress determines the number of members in the House of Representatives, by reapportionment bills which are supposed to be passed after every decennial census.
4. Twenty-five years of age.
5. Thirty years of age.
6. Thirty-five years of age.
7. A foreign-born citizen is eligible to membership in either or both houses of Congress.
8. France, Argentina, Sweden, and Canada.
9. Ulysses S. Grant was the only Republican President to serve out the full two terms.
10. Chairman of the General Motors Corporation.
11. Madrid (latitude 40° 24') is nearer to the North Pole than Philadelphia (latitude 39° 58').
12. By the franking privilege is meant the right to send letters or packages by mail free of charge.
13. No; it comes from the Latin "francus" meaning free.
14. Robert W. Bingham was Ambassador to Great Britain.
15. Mr. Bingham was publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal.
16. In 1936 Poland produced 511,000 metric tons of oil, while Japan produced 350,000 metric tons.
17. China ranks third in the production of cotton, with India second, and the United States first.
18. The Chinese rice crop of 1936 outweighed the American corn crop by about one-fifth.
19. Japan catches more fish than any other country of the world.
20. Hirohito occupies no position in the Japanese Cabinet; he is Emperor of Japan.

the foreignness—the otherworldliness—of the island. The locale shifts from remote country districts to the gilded capitol; from modest brooks to brig-and-infested mountains; from battlefields to fountained patios. The machete and guitar, the garrote and rumba, the cockfight and nuns-of-the-orphanage; the collapse of sugar, the glories of the Cuban skies, by day and by night, the national game of love-making—these and many more are elements in the drama of the land which Columbus said was the fairest man's eye had ever looked upon.

All those who have once fallen under the charm of the Contenting Islands will want to possess *The Story of Bermuda*, with its many illustrations and the word-picture it presents of the old and the New Bermuda. Those making the voyage for the first time will get a double enjoyment by first reading Hudson Strode's frank, colorful descriptions of life, of sport, of brilliant society, of primitive, lotus-eating seclusion on the sunny little islands stretched out in jewel-like seawater just to the southeast of us. *The Story of Bermuda* is an indispensable guide-book; an informal, vivid history containing some fascinating stories; a treatise on the native architecture; an appreciation of gardens; and it contains a delightful chapter on important writers connected with the Islands from Shakespeare through Tom Moore and Mark Twain to Kipling and Eugene O'Neill.

Invitation Accepted

Although it does not strictly belong with the specified list of twenty books on individual countries, I can scarcely close without mentioning an unusual and valuable book, *Invitation to Travel* by Helen Dean Fish. This volume is as entertaining as it is practical. The author, who herself would rather travel that eat, knows from experience that it is important not only where you travel, but *how*. And so—although she gives unusual itineraries for Eng-

land, France and Italy, and an excellent travel-reading list for these three countries—her real theme is how to travel, delightfully handled throughout. She lets the reader in on travel secrets—good ones—ranging from the one steamer-gift guaranteed to cement your friend to you for life, to sights, sounds, and things to do in Europe, that the casual tourist doesn't dream of. The book's tips are of real value, not only for the first-time traveler but, in many instances, for the seasoned voyager as well.

This concludes the twenty books, but no mention of recent travel literature, especially that dealing with the United States, would be complete without Reg Manning's *Cartoon Guide of Arizona* and Ruth Underhill's *First Penthouse Dwellers of America*. Mr. Manning's little book is a brief and satisfying guidebook to Arizona. Looking through this humorous little book, with its myriad sketches and strictly colloquial American phraseology, one finds an amazing wealth of entirely useful information relative to Arizona's people, both red and white, its natural marvels, and man-made phenomena. *First Penthouse Dwellers of America* is an extremely important book for two reasons: first, it represents an innovation in American travel literature; second, it describes a section of American life that has been hitherto almost entirely neglected. Miss Underhill gives the reader an actual desire to visit the scenes described and photographed in her book, which is a story of the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest. Included here are the customs, traditions, and history of the race, which compare in interest with any African or South Sea island account. The photographs tell a story in themselves.

NOTES ON AUTHORS

(Continued from page 1)

he sees the problems involved through military eyes. For no one will deny that Europe today is an armed camp. It is a camp to be surveyed in military terms; political knowledge is yielding to the computation of cannon fire.

★ As a newspaperman, Marc Rose has served many masters. He has written extensively on business affairs and was, at one time, editor of *Business Week*. The legislative no-man's land lying somewhere between the power of the State and of the National Government has intrigued

the interest of lawyer and layman alike. Authority to cure many of the peculiar ailments of law and law-enforcement is lost to the people in this land of legalistic murk.

★ Few who were intimately associated with the American Army during the World War will ever forget the inadequacy of the junior officers. Poorly trained and inexperienced, their blunders cost the lives of hundreds of men. In the future this will not happen; or, at least, it will not happen if the Reserve Officers' Training Corp does a thorough job. **Edwin L. Stoll**, R.O.T.C. editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, reports on the present status of the organization, the approval and opposition it encounters, and its benefits, results, and possibilities.

★ **Thomas J. B. Wenner** is head of the Department of Political Science, Cleveland College, Western Reserve University. He is a frequent visitor to Holland, and discusses the coming and going of fascism in that country. It seems the Dutch have a way with them in dealing with strange political ideas. Perhaps their struggle with the North Sea has endowed them with more than a passing knowledge of life and love and extremism of any sort.



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Where Will Anti-Fascist Lines Reform?

Far more was lost to Europe, when the Nazi propaganda and war machines had completed their dramatic seizure of Austria, than the identity of a once great sovereign state.

For with the tiny Viennese republic vanished the last vestige of the old political bulwarks—the balance of power.

And Germany's self-announced program of expansion—for the first time in many centuries has no effective opposition. The way, apparently, is clear from Berlin to Baghdad, and all points East, at least so far as other powers are willing to commit themselves today.

And yet, there must be, sooner or later, some reforming of the lines. And in the New Balance of Power, whatever it may be—may lie the key to Europe's history for the next century.

It is of this new balance of power that Lionel M. Gelber, distinguished foreign commentator, writes in the forthcoming *Living Age*. And his conclusions are both sound and startling in the light of present conditions and assumptions.

Will Russia throw over the last pretense of communism, and side openly with the other totalitarian Powers? Will any of France's great investment in the Little Entente prove profitable?

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The World Today in Books

(Continued from page 5)

or both, rush to Czech aid, of course, the issue will be far from settled. Mr. Freund, who has the ability to make the most complicated international tangles clearly understandable to the casual reader, says the Czech leaders are firmly convinced that Europe will not let their country down unaided. They base this conviction on the danger of an expanded Germany to the rest of Europe. France, Great Britain, and Russia have a stake in the inviolability of Czechoslovakia that is scarcely less than that of the Republic itself. A Germany dominant in Middle Europe will also be dominant on the Continent and the other great powers are not disposed to permit Hitler to place himself unchallenged in such a strategic position.

Is settlement without war possible? Mr. Freund believes that the possibility does exist but must take into consideration a number of important factors. The outcome of the Spanish Civil War may have an important bearing on the question. Moreover, Czech leaders have shown a desire for peaceful settlement of the quarrel and it may be that some sort of working agreement between Czechoslovakia and Germany will be effected.

Watch Czechoslovakia, like Mr. Freund's earlier work, *Zero Hour*, is a first-rate product of interpretive reporting. Mr. Freund is one of Europe's most qualified observers; those who are familiar with *Zero Hour* will note the accuracy with which recent developments in the European scene compare with his forecasts.

Decline of the League

It is not surprising that the recent ascent of Germany has seen a corresponding decline in the effectiveness and prestige of the League of Nations. When der Fuehrer observed the ineptitude with which the League handled his own occupation of the Rhine and the Ethiopian affair he knew that he would brook little trouble from that quarter in any future undertakings he might contemplate. That he has been proved right is not to his credit but to the discredit of the gentlemen at Geneva who have been unable to speak out with a single voice when speaking out might have prevented what has now happened and thrown democracy on the defensive. Who are these men who head the League? What

are the inner workings of the League? Could it have been possible for the League to have acted in any way other than it did? It is around these questions that George Slocombe, he of the fiery red beard that a dictator once threatened to pull, has written *A Mirror to Geneva*, which is described by the publishers as a "League of Nations Merry-Go-Round."

Unlike the *Washington Merry-Go-Round*, however, Mr. Slocombe's book is far more interested in historical accuracy than in sensationalism and gossip. The comparison to the *Washington* book is hardly fair to Mr. Slocombe, for his work is an objective, moderately-stated, and highly qualified study of the League, of the men who made it in the past, and those who are making it today. The author is dean of the correspondents at Geneva and has had opportunity at first-hand to observe and analyze the League's leading personalities, to talk to them, learn their philosophies and processes of thought. And having learned them, George Slocombe learned the League.

Only a handful now remain from the first 1920 round table which many at the time thought would be the means of outlawing war forever. There are "graceful little Paul Hymans, the white-haired Belgian, the suave Greek Politis, the Swiss ex-President Motta, the Roumanian Nicholas Titulescu." The others? Many are now dead. Some resigned when their countries withdrew from the League. Some were replaced.

Despite the League's failures and its inability to show itself to advantage when the opportunities presented themselves, it is, Mr. Slocombe believes, "a highly perfected machine such as the world has never before constructed. It is a very complete microcosm of a superstate, a world government in miniature..." The League's historic days are past but it still has functions entirely apart from stopping wars: it has its health missions, waterways committees, refugee

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duties, currency operations, and organizations devoted to anti-slavery, anti-narcotic, anti-white traffic work. Yet, though all these functions are highly worthwhile and even essential, it is difficult to escape some disappointment at the failure of the League to do the one big job cut out for it.

Mr. de Kruif's Fight


Paul de Kruif—author, scientist, social philosopher—needs no introduction. He has translated scientific progress in terms that all can understand and enjoy. He is a man with a mission, acutely aware of the successes and failures of civilization, sensitive to the economic and medical needs of the people—especially where those needs go unsatisfied. If it were in his power to change the world, remake it overnight in such a way that there would be neither poverty nor suffering, destroy the excesses of wealth, and make miracles of science available to all, Paul de Kruif would not hesitate for one second. But since, like the rest of

us, he is no more than mortal and can wield no such power, de Kruif writes books such as *Why Keep Them Alive* or his latest work, *The Fight to Live*, which he hopes will make people conscious of their unjust and unnecessary suffering. "The people are beginning to know that life is no longer a question of do I live or do I die. No, in their onward march of life it now becomes do we live or do we die."


De Kruif does not need to work himself up to a fighting pitch. He is exhorting with the very first page, deeply angered that the wonders of medical progress have not been made available to those needing them the most. Literally bristling with emotion, he will draw the picture of thousands of Southern pellagra sufferers, each of whose lives could be saved through a daily ration of yeast costing no more than two cents. Medical science has finally succeeded not only in controlling, but in actually destroying the diseases most feared by man. But of what use is all this, he asks, if only those with

bulging pocketbooks are privileged to receive its benefits. Yet Mr. de Kruif is far from pessimistic; every line in his work carries the strong undertones of the *vestigia nulla retrorsum*, the never-say-die spirit, the conviction that the fight for life will someday result in victory.

The Fight for Life presents the account of medical progress in reducing infant and mother mortality, wiping out infantile paralysis, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases, and in extending the average life expectancy. But it also tells of the extreme dependence of science upon the gods of finance; of thousands of physicians who are kept from specializing and additional training because of their inability to support a family at the same time; of selfish, narrow-visioned medical associations; and finally, of people who are dying for want of medical care. "Death does not wait. . . . What economic obstacle is in the way of giving people life, when it is costing our whole nation—its rulers and owners included—



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billions to keep the people only half-alive and to let them die?"

De Kruif's book may be vulnerable to criticism—as what book is not—but it is doubtful whether the challenge it presents can be lightly dismissed. Certainly, no good can be served by a pollyanna disposition to consider medical wonders alone, without any thought as to whether that progress is being earmarked for certain sections only of our social strata.

The Traveling Novelist

What does a novelist do when he is not writing novels? John Dos Passos goes from place to place, piling up new experiences, gathering up and storing new ideas and plots like a farmer stacking up hay for the winter. His wanderings, it appears from his *Journeys Between Wars*, are often as colorful and interesting as some of his fiction material. In fact, a Dos Passos enthusiast can go through this odyssey and pick out places and incidents which have found their fictitious expression in his novels.

Dos Passos, unlike many other novelists, does not lose his effectiveness once he leaves his chief medium. He still uses a language of his own; there is still the challenging disregard for

conventionalities of punctuation and transition; the old proletarian spirit still flames; his words still run and sing and shout with his moods.

Journeys Between Wars, as its title indicates, covers the period from the World War to the current Spanish conflict. Dos Passos was always around where people were saying important things or where socially portentous events were in the making. He is equally at ease in a Paris cafe or in a besieged barricade. His eyes are keen and if he misses anything the reader will have great difficulty in detecting it.

A Royal Outsider

Hubertus Maria Friedrich, Prince Loewenstein-Wertheim-Freudenberg, Count von Loewenstein-Schaffeneck are the various names and titles of one man. He is a young aristocrat who had a severe falling out with the Nazis when they came into power and who has spent most of his time since then boring from without. Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein, as he is known for short, was and is not only against Nazi Germany; he opposed the feudal system of which his family, direct descendants of no less than twelve Roman-German emperors, was so integrally a part. Together with other spirited and

youthful friends, he agitated and propagandized for a new and revitalized democratic Germany. The Germany that he envisioned, however, never materialized. A painter of sorts from Austria had talked his way into the role of dictator and Loewenstein was one of thousands who found they were no longer welcome in Germany.

All this we learn in *Conquest of the Past*, Prince Loewenstein's extremely readable contribution to the Germany that he believes is no more. In it he describes the days of his childhood and early youth, the customs of nobility, the experiences of a socially-conscious member of the royalty. When Hindenburg capitulated to Hitler, the Prince shouted treason. "What is coming cannot be foreseen: it may be blood and horror and slavery such as our people never hitherto experienced." As for himself, he found it impossible to surrender. "I will never submit to tyranny which I hate from the bottom of my soul and with the whole inheritance and tradition of my name."

TO THE EDITOR:

TO THE EDITOR:

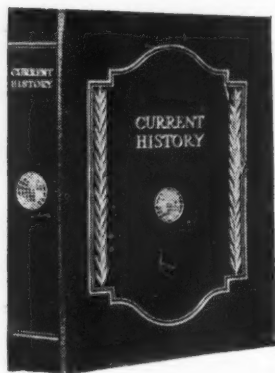
In a recent issue of *Current History* appears an article of sensational propaganda entitled "Are the Americas Safe?" written by Mr. Genaro Arbaiza. Upon investigation, I was surprised to learn that Mr. Arbaiza is a Peruvian. This, of course, explains quite a few points.

It is my desire simply to correct the falsehoods and exaggerations which Mr. Arbaiza makes about his own country, a country which he should know better and which he should have the love that every man of sincere feeling has towards his Fatherland.

1. It is not true that the President of Peru is a "cuartelazo colonel" since he exercises the post of Chief Executive strictly in accordance with legal procedure. There has never been a so-called "Cuartelazo" or revolution. Mr. Benavides is President by virtue of Law No. 8463 which was passed by Congress in the discharge of its legislative powers, on November 21, 1936. It is to be noted that the members of this Congress were elected by popular vote two years before, at which time Mr. Benavides was in Europe, far removed from his country to be able to exercise any personal political pressure.

2. In the general elections of October 1936, the majority of the voters

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voted in favor of the parties which support the orderly and legal methods; the leftist party, represented by the Apra (The American Revolutionary Popular Alliance) having obtained only 30% of the tabulated votes.

3. The Caproni bombers acquired some time ago by the Government have not been and never will be used to exterminate the members of the Apra party. These airplanes are machines of war reserved exclusively for national defense and cannot be used or needed in the suppression of the Peruvian Left, whose members are too few and incompetent to endanger the public order.

4. It is not true that the government of Mr. Benavides is a corrupt one. It is well known to all members of the diplomatic corps accredited to Lima, and to all responsible persons, that Mr. Benavides' government has been one of the most honest and upright the country has known.

5. The Italian capital invested in Peru does not rise above twenty million dollars, this being some 20 per cent of the one hundred million dollars, the figure used by Mr. Arbaiza in his statement. The Italian Bank is a very old institution, founded some 40 years ago, and its capital is owned by Peruvian and Italian business men and industrialists of small means, who have no interest whatever in any political manoeuvres.

6. The few Peruvian Cadets who receive military training in Italy, in the same fashion in which they received it previously in the United States of America, Spain, Argentine or other countries, and the Italian Air Mission, contracted by the government for the purpose of technical training, have nothing to do with fascist or other political methods, and their only objective is the training of the Peruvian aviators. We believe that the Italian Air Force is one of the most efficient in the world. It is also natural and logic that our officers and pilots, who handle airplanes of Italian make, should be trained by Italian instructors and pilots. Using the same line of reasoning, we have contracted a French military mission and are seeking to obtain an American naval mission such as we have had in the past in charge of our technical naval departments. The Peruvian Police was organized by a Spanish mission with the idea of creating an institution instructed and designed solely to guarantee public order and not to mingle in politics. The government of Mr. Benavides, whom Mr. Arbaiza calls "fascist crony," has

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just contracted the services of a German mission as experts in Fiscal and Statistical matters. Mr. Arbaiza will be surprised to know that this mission is formed by old and distinguished officials of the Fiscal Department of the Reich, who have been living in exile in London, where they took refuge after being expelled from Germany by the fascist regime.

7. The Peruvian Government, in compliance with the doctrine of "no intervention" proclaimed at the Buenos Aires Peace Conference, is not concerned in what form of government other countries may wish to adopt, whether it be dictatorial or democratic. Its only concern and one which the government strongly enforces, is to prevent the penetration into Peruvian Society and principles of disintegration which communism or other political ideologies teach. A proof of this spirit is the fact that not long ago the Peruvian diplomatic representation in Mexico which certainly does not pass as a fascist state—was raised to the rank of an Embassy.

8. The Italian Police Mission, made up of a small membership, has as its only duty that of organizing the technical services of our police force. It is universally conceded that Italy is one of the nations which has perfected more the methods of crime prevention.

9. Mr. Arbaiza shows a supreme and inexcusable ignorance of the history of his own country by not being able to explain the presence of the Italian Air Force at the inauguration of the monument to Jorge Chavez, on September 23, 1937. It is well known that the famous Peruvian aviator lost his life at Domodossola, Italy, after having taken off from French territory and crossed the Alps on the same date in 1910. It is for this reason that the Peruvian Government invited simultaneously the French (with the Popular Front at the head) and the Italian Government (with the Fascist form of government), to the ceremonies commemorating the heroic deed of Jorge Chavez.

10. It is absolutely false that the Inter-American Aviation Conference gave rise to a keen competition between American and Italian airplane manufacturers for the control of the Peruvian market, and that the Italians emerged the winners. The fact is that since the Conference adjourned, the Peruvian government has not acquired a single airplane and should it acquire any in the future the question of the country's welfare will be the only deciding factor.

11. The Peruvian Government invited all the great airplane producing countries, including the United States to the Exposition of Aeronautical Products, and it is not the fault of the Peruvian Government that only three countries—Germany, Italy and the United States, exhibited their products. One Ford airplane of the Arrow Aircraft Corp., one of the Panagra, and numerous accessories of the Nicholas Beazley Airplane Co. and of other factories, were exhibited side by side with the German and Italian products. There was besides, a room with meteorological articles and apparatus exhibited by the Department of Commerce of the United States.

12. It is not true that the Government of Mr. Benavides has completely failed to meet the service of the external debt. Mr. Arbaiza should know that at present there is an office at 21 West Street, Room 506, where the coupons of said external debt are redeemed. Forty-eight and one eighth per cent of the holders of Peruvian bonds have already received payment in the form proposed by the Peruvian Government and every day more holders call at that office, where they are duly taken care of.

13. It is also untrue that there are Italian capitalists interested in the sugar industry. There are none. In Peru the sugar industry is in the hands of Peruvian Capitalists, a large German firm, established in the country for over fifty years, and considerable American capital (W. R. Grace & Co.).

14. I do not believe that the Peruvian Government could understand how, when and in what form it has antagonized the views expressed by President Roosevelt in Buenos Aires and Chicago.

15. Finally, the Peruvian citizen, Mr. Arbaiza, does not have to go to the trouble of recommending to the Washington Government to organize a quarantine against his own country, because not only the American State Department would even endeavor to establish such a quarantine, but neither would the Peruvian Chancellery tolerate any kind of tutelage coming from anybody.

F. PARDO DE ZELA, *Consul General of Peru in the United States of America.*

Current History readers are invited to express their opinions in these columns. Letters should be addressed to the Editor, Current History, 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y.